



REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
of the  
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DECEMBER, 1918



Property of  
**INFORMATION AND SERVICE ASSOCIATES**  
162 Madison Avenue  
New York City

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS  
1 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK

American Jewish Committee  
LIBRARY

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
of the  
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

DECEMBER, 1918



AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS  
1 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK

360.73<sup>u</sup>  
A 6<sup>u</sup>

cop 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
FIRST SESSION .....	1
COLONEL CUTLER'S ADDRESS .....	2
MESSAGES OF GREETING .....	3
PROFESSOR AMRAM'S ADDRESS .....	6
ADDRESS OF DIRECTOR MCLOUGHLIN .....	9
ADDRESS OF NATHAN STRAUS .....	11
JUDGE MACK'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS .....	15
SECOND SESSION .....	22
ADDRESS OF MR. MARSHALL .....	23
THIRD SESSION .....	36
RULES OF PROCEDURE .....	37
FOURTH SESSION .....	39
FIFTH SESSION .....	43
RESOLUTION ON ROUMANIA .....	47
SIXTH SESSION .....	49
REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS .....	50
SEVENTH SESSION .....	53
INDEPENDENCE HALL .....	58
EIGHTH SESSION .....	63
THE BILL OF RIGHTS .....	66
REPRESENTATIVES TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS .....	73

FIRST SESSION

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

DECEMBER 15, 1918—2:30 P. M.

Colonel Harry Cutler, Chairman of the Administrative Committee, presiding, called the Congress to order and introduced Rabbi B. L. Levinthal, head of the United Orthodox Congregations of Philadelphia, who offered the following prayer:

OH God of Israel, receive graciously our benediction, our gratitude and our prayers unto Thee, our merciful Father: our gratitude for having kept us alive and sustained us to this day, after two thousand years of exile and wanderings, sufferings and oppressions, massacres, evil decrees and forced conversions. From the depth of our hearts we thank Thee, our Father in Heaven for permitting us to witness this day when the representatives of the people of Israel are assembled to give expression to the woes of hundreds of generations that have passed, to make outcry against the misfortunes that have befallen our people and to seek ways and means to improve the lot of our crushed and staggering people.

We thank Thee, Oh God of our Fathers for having brought us to this blessed land, the United States of America, which has offered us the opportunity to work for the welfare of our brethren across the seas.

We beseech Thee, Oh Lord, that Thou shalt cause Thy countenance to shine on this great and holy assembly. Lend power to the voice of our delegates, the chosen representatives of all classes of our people, so as to make clear to them the true path for the welfare of our people, our Torah, our land and our faith: to secure a safe refuge for our people in the land of our fathers, to seek and procure civil and national rights for our co-religionists in the lands of the Diaspora, by Thine aid and with the help of our government and the other enlightened nations who fought victoriously for the rights of the oppressed and persecuted people and who have already given recognition to our just aspirations as did the governments of Great Britain, France and Italy and also the government of our beloved land.

And especially do we pray unto Thee, Oh Lord, that this assembly may conduct its deliberations in peace and harmony, and let this Congress be the means of uniting all the elements of our people in this country, and lay the foundation of the unity of Israel the world over.

May the Lord send his blessings of peace to our land, to the State of Pennsylvania, to this City of brotherly love, and to this great gathering.

And now permit me to pronounce upon this assembly my blessing, the Priestly blessing: May the Lord cause his countenance to shine upon you and be gracious unto you: May the Lord lift up his countenance unto you and give you peace."

Colonel Cutler then addressed the Congress.

## COLONEL CUTLER'S ADDRESS

Delegates to the American Jewish Congress:

The convening of this Congress of American Jewry marks one of the most momentous epochs in the history of the Jews. For thousands of years, our people have suffered persecution and discrimination, and now that the readjustment of the world's civilization is about to be accomplished, now that the fundamental principle that all men are born equal is again to be proclaimed and the rights of small nations are to be equally conserved with those of the Great Powers, the Jewish people must come into its own!

Since the beginning of the world war in August, 1914, the various elements in American Jewry have taken steps for the formation of what today has culminated in this important gathering. During our progress, the United States entered into the world war and we determined that all activities towards the Congress cease until the time hostilities were over and peace was in sight. That time is now here and the Administrative Committee of the Congress which had in its representation men of every shade of opinion, from the most radical to the ultra-conservative, have called you together in solemn conclave as a deliberate body. For the first time in the history of the Jews, we shall seriously consider those matters which shall impress upon the Peace Conference the necessity of granting civil, religious and political rights to the Jews in all lands where laws discriminating against them exist. The end we have in sight is that no Government at present existing or to be created, shall have laws discriminating on religious, civil or political grounds. The part our country and her Allies have played in the world war in the overthrowing of autocracy and the establishing of democracy, augurs well for the accomplishment of our aims. The blood and treasure contributed by the Jews under all flags in this world war encourages us to believe that their patriotism and self-sacrifice will not have been in vain.

As Chairman of your Administrative Committee, I wish to express sincere gratitude for the great honor given me in presiding over your deliberations for the past two years. There were moments fraught with keen and critical issues. Men of varying philosophies of life have earnestly pressed their particular recommendations and it was often difficult to do justice to the individual and to the cause of the Congress, but happily the broad vision and the earnestness of the gentlemen composing the Committee made easier the efforts of your executive officer and now I declare the Administrative Committee adjourned, and I turn over our stewardship to this great American Jewish Congress. May God speed the deliberations of

this body. May we attain the ideals for which we are striving; the ideals which our beloved land through the heroism of its sons and the justice of its cause has planted in the countries across the sea."

### MESSAGES OF GREETING

Mr. Bernard G. Richards, Executive Secretary, read messages of greeting from absent delegates, prominent people and organizations, among them being the following from Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels:

THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY  
Washington, D. C.

December 11, 1918.

My dear Mr. Richards:

I thank you very much indeed for your very cordial invitation to be present on December 15th upon the occasion of the opening of the American Jewish Congress, and wish more than I can tell you that I could accept.

I am obliged to decline, however, owing to the stress of official duties which will keep me in Washington at that time. I am greatly interested in everything concerning the happiness and welfare of the Jewish people and for this reason regret exceedingly that I can not be with you.

With much appreciation, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOSEPHUS DANIELS.

The following was addressed to Mr. Jacob Ginsburg of the Philadelphia Arrangements Committee:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA  
Executive Chamber  
Harrisburg

December 4, 1918.

Dear Sir:

I count it a happy circumstance that called the Jewish people of America to historic Philadelphia on December 15th, 1918, to take counsel upon the inalienable rights of a substantial and worthy part of our population. I have, in all my career, steadfastly maintained that democracy, honestly applied, is the hope of all oppressed peoples. America may well set the tides of thought to the rights of the Jewish peoples of all lands. They should, in the counsels of peace, be guaranteed the honorable status they so heroically won in the field of battle. We are not a worthy democracy if we fail to conserve the rights of Jewish peoples wherever they may choose to live.

I am especially glad to know that Palestine, the cradle of civilization, is about to become the home of the people who once so proudly possessed it. In that enterprise I wish you all good and God-speed.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) M. G. BRUMBAUGH.

This message was received from The Royal Italian Embassy:

ROYAL ITALIAN EMBASSY  
Washington

Dec. 3, 1918.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the Ambassador, who has left for Europe just today, to answer your letter of the 29th ultimo, inviting him to be present on the fifteenth of this month at the American Jewish Congress at Philadelphia and to address it.

His Excellency has requested me to thank you for the kind invitation extended to him and that he has appreciated as another evidence of the friendly existing relations between the Jewish and the Italian people. On the point of departure he wishes to convey to you through me, his sympathy for the efforts that are being made among the Hebrews towards the attainment of a freer life, and his wishes that the Congress may prove an efficient means of promoting the welfare of the Jewish people.

Believe me, dear sir,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) MINESCALCHI,  
Chargé d'Affaires.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise on the eve of his departure for Europe, sent the following message:

FREE SYNAGOGUE  
New York

Dear Mr. Richards:

Will you not convey to the Congress my sense of deep regret at my inability to be present at what I am sure is destined to be the memorable meeting in behalf of the interests of American and world Israel. I feel the more regretful because of the privilege which was mine of having some part in those deliberations and actions which preceded and made possible the convening of the American Jewish Congress. May the Congress greatly serve American Israel. The American people will honor the Jewish people if the Jewish people be strong and resolute in its insistence that the wrongs of Jewry shall be ended in the day of justice and redress. However divided the opinions of the membership of the Congress may be,

I trust that before it shall have ended unity will have been reached and will be maintained, and American Israel become one in its loyalty to the highest interests of the people of Israel.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) STEPHEN S. WISE.

Mr. Oscar S. Straus telegraphed the following message to Mr. Louis Marshall:

Dec. 15, 1918.

Pray express excuses for my absence and say I am in full accord with the purposes of the Congress and trust that the delegates will follow the example of the Allied General Staff and subordinate individual idiosyncrasies to solidarity of conclusion so that our American Jewry will speak with one strong voice in making its plea in accord with the Balfour and Wilson declarations to the Peace Congress for civil and religious equality in all lands for our oppressed and long-suffering brethren. To ask for more would be unreasonable; to be content with less would be cowardly. This is the cornerstone of the American system and must be the basic foundation policy for the reconstructed world in order that the victory in war may be translated into a lasting victory for a just and enduring peace.

OSCAR S. STRAUS.

A list of persons and organizations from whom messages were received follows:

Dr. Judah L. Magnes; Dr. Nahum Slousch; Dr. Leon Pinsker, Camp 41, Order Sons of Zion; Jewish Community, Hartford, Conn.; Wholesale Grocers Salesmen Prog. Assn., Boston, Mass.; Joseph J. Kebart, N. Y.; Young Judea Council, Yonkers, N. Y.; First Trailer Sick Ben. Soc., N. Y.; Fed. of Russian Polish Hebrews of America, N. Y.; Associated Boston Hebrew Schools; Anshei Zitomir Talmud Torah, N. Y.; Local 35, I. L. G. W. U.; Br. 83, Yidd. Nat. Arb. Verband; Agudath Hamorim Hovrim, Chicago; Hebrew Austrian Hungarian Assn., Providence, R. I.; Br. 11, Nat. Wkers. All; Kadieshe Lodge, I. O. B. A., Atlanta; K. N. Shaffer, N. Y.; Br. 12, J. N. W. A., Rochester; Aaron Schuster, Milwaukee; Independent Woliner Prog. Soc., Philadelphia; Hatikvoh Camp, Order Sons of Zion, Boston; J. N. W. A., Detroit; Zionist, New Britain, Conn.; Poale Zion, Winnipeg; Jewish Community, Ft. Worth, Tex.; Br. 104, J. N. W. A., Detroit; Charitable and Free Loan Assn., Brooklyn, N. Y.; U. S. Grand Lodge O. B. A., N. Y.; Zionist Organization, Utica, N. Y.; Br. 2, Poale Zion, Detroit; Hatikvoh Circle, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Harlem Zionist Soc., N. Y.; Zionist District, N. Y.; Jewish Soldiers, Camp Funston, Kansas; Slobodker Ben. Assn., Cleveland; Simon Gurewitch, Chicago; Jewish Community, Burlington; Benj. Seit, Nutley, N. J.; Theodore Frank, N. Y.; Lodge 313, I. O. B. S.; Waist Makers Union 15, Philadelphia; Kehillah District, 18, Brooklyn, N. Y.; S. Belgrade, Chicago; Rapoport M. Samsky, Minneapolis;

Uptown Jewish Ladies Home for the Aged, Philadelphia; M. Cohen, Peabody, Mass.; B. Berson, New Britain, Conn.; Cong. Ohavas Chesed, Philadelphia; Mielnitzer Lodge, I. O. B. A., N. Y.; Wkmens. Circle, Br. 90; Jewish Community, Fort Worth, Tex.; United Galician Young Men's Societies; Poale Zion, Saskatoon, Sas.; Harry Goldschein, New Brighton, S. I.; Br. 95, Arbeiter Ring, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Zionist Organization, Memphis, Tenn.; United Synagogues, Memphis, Tenn.; Workingmen's Circle, Br. 495, Chattanooga; Poale Zion, Chattanooga; Red Mogen Dovid, Boston Mass.; Altneuland Zion Verein, Montreal; Zion Kadinoh Club, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dan Daniels, Little Rock, Ark.; Conference of Jewish Wkers. Org., Winnipeg; Rivers of Zion, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Jewish Community, Charleston; Cong. Nichlath Zoll, N. Y.; Dr. Joseph K. Orłowski, Chicago; Ind. Wkmen's Circle, Br. 58, Rochester; Poale Zion, Waterbury, Conn.; Wrkmen's Assn., Providence, R. I.; Lodge 62, I. O. B. A.; Fitchburg District Organization, Massachusetts; Fed. of Russian Polish Hebrews of America, N. Y.; Agudas Hoemes Roche, Portland, Me.; Jewish Community, Youngstown, Ohio; Jewish Community, Boston; Abram Rosenberg, N. Y.; Order Sons of Zion, Portland, Me.; Radewitzer Rebbi, N. Y.; Fiorris Soc., Tulsa, Okla.; Metropolitan News Co., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Zionist District 13, N. Y.; Light of Zion, Kingston, N. C.; Order Sons of Zion, Jacksonville, Fla.; Federation of Jewish Charities, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Zionist District, Duluth, Minn.; Jewish Soldiers, Camp Meade, Baltimore, Md.; Zionist Organization, Newark, N. J.; Jewish Welfare Bd., Camp Meade, Md.; Zionists, Iowa City; Hebrew Free Loan Assn., North Hudson, N. J.; Cong. Ahavath Achim, Atlanta, Ga.; Cong. Agudath Sholom, Ft. Worth, Tex.; New Hebrew School, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Lodge 243, I. O. B. A.; Zionist District, New London, Conn.; Poale Zion, New Haven, Conn.; Rymonotr Y. M. B. S., N. Y.; Jewish Students, Univ. of Nebraska; Gloversville I. O. B. A., Lodge 498, N. Y.; First Jarshiyer Prog. Benev. Soc., N. Y.; Dorshe Zion, McKeesport, Pa.; Zionist District 18, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Y. M. H. A., Minneapolis; Mizrachi, Charleston, S. C.; I. O. B. B., St. Paul; Zionist, St. Paul; Jewish Soldiers, Aviation Repair Depot, Montgomery, Ala.; Kutno Soc. B'nei Jacob, N. Y.; Worcester Hebrew Org., Hashoran; Yiddisher Kinder Club, Bayonne, N. J.; Rabbi Weisblatt, Baltimore, Md.; Indep. Kishineff Mutual Aid, Philadelphia; Warschauer Sick Support Soc., N. Y.; Br. 1, Imd. Wkmens. Circle, Roxbury, Mass.; Progressive Hebrew School, Chicago.

Professor David Werner Amram was then presented by the Chair. He greeted the Congress in the name of the Jews of Philadelphia.

#### PROFESSOR AMRAM'S ADDRESS

"Mr. Chairman and Members of the American Jewish Congress:

On behalf of the Jews of Philadelphia it is my great privilege to welcome you, the delegates to the American Jewish Congress, whose sessions are to be held in this, the mother city of American Congresses.

Philadelphia looks with favor upon your assembly, and when the results of your deliberations have been published, will heartily endorse them, for we are assured from what we have learned of you and of your purposes that your resolutions will embody that spirit of freedom and justice that found its highest expression in this city in the birth of the American nation.

You come to us as an American Congress, representing the Jews of the United States; a democratic congress of representatives chosen by the votes of more than three hundred and thirty thousand people.

You are an American Congress in another sense, that may be read in the terms of the agreement that brought you together "for the purpose of defining methods whereby in co-operation with the Jews of the world full rights may be secured for the Jews of all lands and all laws discriminating against them may be abrogated." This is sound American doctrine taught by the fathers of our country and upheld by all its sons.

In 1790 George Washington, in his answer to the address of the Hebrew congregations of Philadelphia, New York, Charleston and Richmond, on the occasion of his election to the presidency, said: "The liberality of sentiment toward each other which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country stands unparalleled in the history of nations." Today the very purpose of your congress is to seek to extend that liberality of sentiment to the most remote parts of the world.

You, therefore, as a congress of American citizens, for let it be well known and understood that none but American citizens sit in your assembly, will declare American doctrine to be applied to the solution of the problems of the oppressed and persecuted Jews of the world. You will declare those fundamental principles of right that are yours by faith and by inheritance, both as Americans and as Jews, and you will call upon the peoples of other lands to recognize these principles and apply them in their dealings with the minority groups in their midst.

We, of Philadelphia, express the hope that you will not only declare those principles to the peace conference and ask for their application by the Powers of the world, but that, remembering Rumania and the abortive effort of the Congress of Berlin to protect the rights of Rumanian Jews against that faithless government, you will suggest some means for securing effective guarantees for those rights.

Your forefathers in Judea proclaimed liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof, a proclamation specially cherished by Philadelphia and engraved on the Liberty Bell. Let it be your work to support the policy of our great national leader, Woodrow Wilson, in proclaiming liberty to the inhabitants of all lands.

Woodrow Wilson has expressed the spirit of America. You of the American Jewish Congress will also contribute to its expression, for through you, too, America will speak. For, wherever men meet, free in spirit, in thought and in speech, willing unto others the freedom and the rights that

they themselves have acquired, there, and in that assembly, America will be present. There are those whose Americanism consists largely in empty repetition of fine phrases and clamorous invocation to the flag. There are those who believe that Americanism depends upon descent from an American ancestor of a hundred years ago or more. But an American is made neither by birth nor by descent, neither by language nor by religion. He is a child of the spirit of the new world who speaks not for New England nor for Pennsylvania, not for the South nor for the West, but for all men everywhere. America is well personified in the statue in the harbor holding up her light to all the world. It is thus that French genius has portrayed her. It is thus that Jewish hearts think of her. Thus she receives the incoming immigrant ship and accords to its wretched human freight the promise of the rights of man. It is in the spirit in which she speaks to our immigrant brothers that we must speak in her name to all the world.

This American Jewish Congress will rejoice in the successful efforts of men everywhere to obtain political, religious and economic rights and it should speak as well for all groups of oppressed people, for the Christians of Armenia, for the Moslems in the Balkan States, as for the particular group in whom, because of the bonds of religion and common tradition, it has a special interest. For the Jews, this Congress will especially speak, and it will demand for them the equal protection of the law, the equal rights of citizenship, equal economic opportunity and equal religious liberty with all other inhabitants of every land in which they dwell. This Congress should speak in behalf of the Jews of the Russias and Poland and Roumania and other mid-European and southeastern European territories. It should speak for the Jews of the semi-independent territories that border on the great desert of North Africa, for the Jews of Turkey, of Persia, and of those faraway lands in the secluded Orient that are least of all touched by the spirit of the Western world.

When some of us met in Pittsburgh in June of this year to adopt an expression of principles that should govern American Zionists in their hopes and plans for Palestine, we declared as the very foundation of the Zionist platform civil and political equality for all the inhabitants of Palestine without regard to religion, race or sex. So far as it lay in our power to declare the principles upon which a new state in Palestine should be erected we said in no uncertain words that Christian and Mohammedan should enjoy every right and every privilege that is enjoyed by any Jew. Nor is this merely an idle phrase uttered in that spirit of exaltation that held us all during the war upon a high plane of spiritual contact with other peoples. It was then and is now the expression of a principle that lies at the very root of the demand of the Jews for human rights during all the Christian centuries.

One of the great problems to which your assembly may address itself, perhaps the greatest problem of all that you may be called upon to consider, is to devise a method whereby these rights that may be well declared can be as well secured.

President Wilson declared that international justice must play no favorites and know no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples

concerned. The Jewish peoples of Middle and Eastern Europe are among "the several peoples concerned." The President's declaration involves the consideration of the right of the nations assembled at the peace congress to provide for interference within the territorial boundaries of a State for the purpose of protecting any of its constituent parts from infringement of their rights. It involves the exercise of a power like that of our Federal government to interfere on behalf of the individual citizen of any of the States of the Union to protect him against unconstitutional State legislation that may deprive him of his rights. Before such power can be exercised lawfully there must be a new Constitution adopted for the government of the States of the world, and this is the underlying thought of the new internationalism that shall inaugurate not only the era of world peace, but of universal justice. It involves the thought that there shall be a power greater than any national power, that shall protect any man anywhere in the enjoyment of the rights that are given him by the national constitutions of the States. This brings us almost within sight of that millennial period foreseen by the inspired genius of Isaiah.

It lies within your power, members of the American Jewish Congress, to say a great and perhaps a potent word in behalf of this thought, to give formal shape to a doctrine that has been the eternal ideal of our people.

Let me add one word to suggest the meaning of this Congress to the oppressed Jews of Russia, Poland or Rumania who hear that in America Jews meet as free men in a free land to take counsel not for their own sake but for the sake of their unhappy brothers. It is with their needs before you that you have gathered here. In their name let your voice be heard.

May it be through your pleas at the bar of the world's justice that their yoke may be removed and their rights as men and as Jews be respected.

Speak to the world so that all men can point to your doctrine as a declaration made by you as Americans and as Jews of those principles of universal justice through which the whole world may find contentment and peace."

#### THE ADDRESS OF DIRECTOR McLOUGHLIN

The official welcome of the Mayor of Philadelphia was delivered by his representative, Director Joseph McLoughlin, who spoke as follows:

"Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

This is the most magnificent gathering that has ever graced the Metropolitan Opera House. True, we all had our difficulties in getting in. I asked somebody here whether we would have the same difficulty in getting into heaven, but they said that in getting into heaven there were twelve gates, on the north, three; on the south, three; on the west, three; and on the east, three; so I imagine there will be plenty of room inside, although this Opera House does not begin to accommodate all those who desired to get in this afternoon. They tell me thousands have been turned away.

I am very glad to represent His Honor, the Mayor, upon this most auspicious occasion. This is one of the greatest periods in the world's history; colossal happenings are going on, and I believe that growing out of this great convention great good will come. The City of Philadelphia is honored in the selection of the birthplace of liberty, the birthplace of the American Flag—in being selected as the city in which you should hold your most important convention. The Key-note is Unity. I think it wonderful that you have been able to gather together all the various organizations throughout this great land and meet here in this wonderful convention. It brings to my mind those lines concerning this government of ours, as a people representing so many interests, as being as distinct as the billows, we are one as the sea. Many states, but one government. Many people, but one union. Many separate political, social, religious and fraternal organizations, but all bound together by common interest, common sympathy, a common history and a common destiny. One people, under one flag. And next to unity is that spirit of concentration, co-operation and organization, loyalty. We can accomplish much when we stand absolutely together. I heard a story, and it may not be amiss to tell it here. A man was travelling in Ireland, who was taken with the dexterity of the driver, who with his whip seemed to be able to tip anything at which he aimed, and this traveller said to the driver: "Do you do that absentmindedly or not?" and the driver said: "Well, I will let you pick the object and we will see." And the tourist said: "Let me see you hit that yellow leaf," and the driver cracked his whip and down came the little leaf. "Let me see you pick off the right ear of the lead horse," and the driver again cracked his whip and down went the right ear of the horse. Then the tourist saw a hornet's nest and said: "Now let me see you bring that hornet's nest down," and the driver said to the tourist: "Let me tell you, a leaf is a leaf, and a horse's ear is a horse's ear, but a hornet's nest is an organization."

You have solved the problem. You have formed this organization and you are going into this as a united people. I want to congratulate the Committee that has brought this condition about, and your efforts undoubtedly will be crowned with success. It has been said by your Chairman that the war has brought about this condition. Much has been accomplished, and if anything stands out in this great war, it is that of the spirit of unity which has pervaded the whole world. The people are more united today as a result of the war than they have ever been before, and now is the opportune time to hold this Congress and to bring before the peace table, where will be assembled the collective wisdom of the nations, the claims that you are making and making rightfully. We want to see justice and righteousness and truth prevail; we want to see reason and we want to see love binding the hearts of all men, regardless of race, of creed, or nationality.

God has made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth. This grand old flag of ours speaks for civil and religious liberty, industrial advancement, popular education in the church, the school, the home in the light of freedom, under the surety of the law, and we want to demand everywhere, for everyone, what it means in our own land.

I can do no better than by quoting the words of the poet Burns :

“Then let us pray,  
That come it may,  
As come it will for a’ that,  
That man to man,  
The whole world o’er,  
Shall brothers be for a’ that.”

And in the words of the sweet singer of Israel, “Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; pray that peace and prosperity be within the walls of Palestine.”

Philadelphia opens wide her portals to receive you and we wish you God-speed in your deliberations, and a speedy realization of your aims and worthy motives.”

#### MR. NATHAN STRAUS' ADDRESS

Mr. Nathan Straus was then introduced and responded to the speeches of welcome with the following address :

*“How good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity” (Psalms 133-1).*

“At last we can voice the desire of our hearts and the determination of our will to help our brothers in need while we stand united.

The realization of our plans for this Congress—satisfactory to all the elements of American Jewry—is a great triumph.

I want to begin by thanking all those who have made the personal sacrifice of sinking their differences of opinion for the sake of unity, without which we could not hope for success in our tremendous task. We have at last unity of mind and purpose, as we always had of heart.

We have proved that the Jew cannot only serve the world by his self-sacrifice, by his talents; but that he has the capacity for organization to help himself. Democracy and intellectual liberty are inborn in the Jewish blood.

We are meeting in the happiest hour of American history—the hour which finds America not only victorious by the side of her Allies, but nobly victorious for the noblest of ends. A victory has been won by America that is equal to America's deserts. The cause for which we entered the war has triumphed and triumphed abundantly, and America to-day stands upon the pinnacle of international eminence, honored and loved by all nations save her defeated enemies, and even they in time will come to understand that America did much to liberate the German-speaking peoples from the curse of autocracy and militarism.

Great is our joy in the triumph of America and the Allies. We take the deepest satisfaction in the circumstance that America has had the opportunity and privilege to play a decisive part in the war.

The enormous reinforcement of strength, moral as well as military which the advent of America into the war brought to England, France, Italy and

all the Allies has enabled them to bring to its triumphant conclusion the struggle for human liberty, in which they had already made enormous and unparalleled sacrifices.

Greatest of all is our joy in the circumstance that America has been able to fulfil a part of her immortal destiny; that America which up to April 2nd, 1917, was a sheltering refuge and a land of opportunity to the people who have come to her shores has now become a symbol of hope and even of realization of liberty to all nations.

America in one word has become not simply a world-power; but a power for world good and for world liberty.

We meet today not only as Americans but as Jews to give thanks to Almighty God for the part it has been our solemn privilege to play in the war that is won. For Jews have done their full duty and done it gladly and eagerly on behalf of America and American principles.

From the greatest to the least of us, American Jews have understood that all they prized in life was at stake, and that no sacrifice that America could ask of them would be equal to the measure of our devotion to the Allied cause.

In all lands, Jews have acquitted themselves bravely and well. Even in the lands of darkness and injustice Jews have bled and died though they have been denied those blessings of liberty and citizenship which are our own.

As American Jews, it became clear to us some years ago that the time had come for Jews to stand together and speak with united voice for those who are still deprived of these human rights, for which America and her Allies have been fighting. Those of us who have for years urged the convening of the American Jewish Congress have been of the conviction, that inasmuch as the days of secret compact had vanished, and the day of open and daylight councils had come, it was the duty of the Jewish people in America, as in all lands, to utter their call to humanity and secure the liberation of the oppressed.

In America, above all, it is our solemn duty because we are surrounded by one hundred million friends and well-wishers. In America, men of all faiths, Jews, Catholics, Protestants are brothers and fellow-citizens, sharing the privileges of freedom and opportunity and sharing the obligation to exercise those privileges worthily.

We must act together in the spirit of liberty and democracy, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

Our fellow-Americans have the right to demand of us plain speaking in regard to the status of the Jew in all lands.

I believe I know the mind and spirit of our fellow-Americans, and I am sure that from the President to the humblest citizen, all are resolved to do all that in their power lies, in order that every just aim and righteous aspiration of the people of Israel shall be realized.

We want not toleration—but liberation for our brethren in all lands.

The American Jewish Congress may reaffirm the imperishable loyalty of American Jews to America and all that for which America stands, though surely such reaffirmation is superfluous. This Congress of American Jews will turn to the lands of Eastern Europe where Jews have long suffered intolerable wrongs, wrongs that cry to the heaven of heavens for redress, and insist with all the power of truth, that in the newly reordered world of liberty and justice there shall be no room nor place for racial or national or religious animosity and intolerance. Even those who are not of our faith—all those who recognize divine or human law realize the justice of our cause. Above all, the American Jewish Congress in the name of one hundred millions will turn to the peoples which have just achieved their freedom, and remind them that if they would have their freedom they must free their own peoples. That liberation will not long remain the lot of peoples who prove themselves unfit to have it and unworthy to hold it.

Since the arrangements for holding a Congress were consummated in December, 1916, and the delegates elected, the most momentous changes which ever occurred in the world's history have taken place. The favorable results of these changes have affected the status of the Jews more than any other people's.

The Balfour Declaration—standing out as unique, unprecedented in its liberal spirit,—followed by the unqualified approval of our own President Wilson, and by His Holiness, Pope Benedict XV—by France, Italy and Serbia, has made certain the realization of our aspirations as far as Palestine is concerned.

But unfortunately there still remain the same problems in other lands as prior to the war. Where he has no equal civil rights the Jew has no protection, and becomes the scapegoat in peace and in war times.

Any internal trouble—any national upheaval from whatever cause, is the immediate occasion for the mob to attack the Jew. Our history bears witness to these sad realities—and recent events in Poland, in Galicia, and in Finland have again demonstrated them.

It was such conditions which caused the calling of a Congress and we have convened to find ways and means to ameliorate them. If there are any other people suffering and persecuted like ours, we shall be just as anxious to help them.

This principle has always actuated all my personal endeavors. I have never distinguished between the religious belief or race or color of any victim of adversity.

Whatever the accident of birth or the circumstance of religious faith, we are all brothers and should help each other to the full extent of the opportunities of service and the means that the God of all mankind gives to each of us.

It is not Zionism, not Judaism, but Humanity that beckons me now to the land that cradled the great world religions.

And there I am going at the earliest opportunity in the near future—to be of service in the Holy Land or any other land where help is needed. For “The world is my country—to do good is my religion.”

We are met through the happiest of circumstances in the city of Philadelphia, the city of freedom, the city of self-determination, the city glorious with the memories of the best in American history. We have been called upon by our fellow-Jews to perform a solemn duty.

May it be given to us to be equal to our task and may the future of the Jewish people be happier and nobler because of what we shall here resolve to do, so that throughout future generations it shall be said that American Jews met the great crisis with great hearts and were equal to the bearing of the heavy burden of responsibility and of service which God in His wisdom laid upon them.

May this assemblage be enabled to bring before the court of civilization at the forthcoming Peace Conference the case of the oppressed Jew—the aims and the merits of our just demands.

And may our efforts ultimately result in full and realized equality of rights for Jews of all lands.

I herewith declare this American Jewish Congress open. May every word here spoken and every action here taken be worthy of America and of Israel.”

The Congress then proceeded to the work of organization. The Secretary was requested to read the roll-call. Mr. Jacob de Haas, on a point of information, asked whether the roll-call to be read was to be on the basis of the published report of the General Board of Elections and in accordance with the decision of the Administrative Committee. The Secretary stated that the list to be read was the list as published, with such changes as have been occasioned by the absence, death or removal of delegates, whose places had been taken by candidates having received the next highest number of votes. Mr. de Haas expressed doubt as to the legality of the procedure of substituting new names for those who for any reason could not act as delegates. Professor Isaac A. Hourwich, Chairman of the General Board of Elections, took the floor and stated that the procedure adopted was in accordance with a decision of the General Board of Elections and in accordance with a precedent established shortly after the election. The Chair explained that the whole matter would be taken up by the Committee on Privileges and Elections which was to be created by the Congress. Mr. de Haas withdrew his objection, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, to which delegates present responded.

Mr. Louis Lipsky moved to proceed to the election of officers of a permanent organization. Mr. Joel Enteen amended that a Praesidium be elected in place of a President. His amendment, placed before the House, was defeated. Mr. Lipsky, after introductory remarks, moved the nomination for President of Judge Julian W. Mack. The nomination was seconded

by Judge Joseph B. David, Judge Leon Sanders, Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky and Judge Jacob S. Strahl. Mr. Jacob Pfeffer presented the name of Mr. Louis Marshall for President. Mr. Marshall declined in favor of Judge Mack, whose nomination he seconded. Mr. William Edlin presented as nominee for President Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarten), Prof. Hourwich seconding the nomination. Upon motion of Mr. Martin O. Levy, nominations were declared closed. Judge David asked for a vote by roll-call, which request was not seconded. Rabbi Joseph Silverman then moved that the election be proceeded to by a rising vote. His motion was seconded and carried. A rising vote was then taken.

The vote: Judge Mack, 232; Yehoash, 61.

Mr. Edlin moved to make the election of Judge Mack unanimous, seconded by Prof. Hourwich. The motion was placed before the House and as a result Judge Mack was declared unanimously elected President of the American Jewish Congress.

Rev. Dr. Max Heller of New Orleans introduced a motion that Mr. Straus be elected Honorary President. Judge Mack moved the nominations be closed and Mr. Straus was unanimously elected Honorary President by a rising vote. Colonel Cutler then spoke on behalf of the delegates to Mr. Straus. He said: "It is my duty to convey to you the sentiments of these men and women representing the entire Jewry of America. They desire you to fill the office of Honorary President of the first American Jewish Congress and I take great pleasure in conveying their action to you officially."

At the request of the Chair, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Lipsky escorted Judge Mack to the platform. Judge Mack thereafter presided.

At this time Mr. Charles Cowen moved that the Congress extend its thanks to Colonel Cutler for his devoted and able work as Chairman of the Administrative Committee and as Temporary Chairman of the Congress. A vote of thanks was unanimously extended.

Judge Mack then delivered his inaugural speech.

### JUDGE MACK'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"Fellow Delegates and Fellow Jews:

I want to thank you for the very high honor you have conferred upon me. I want to thank not only those who supported me in the first instance, but perhaps more especially those, who in their wisdom preferring that fine poetic soul, Yehoash, for the signal honor of the Presidency of this organization, have made the action of the majority the unanimous action of the Congress. You have placed upon me in conferring this honor, a deep responsibility, a heavy duty. There are other men here present who by the length of their service, the magnificence of their efforts and the splendid results they have achieved for American Jewry and the Jewry of the world, certainly were deserving at least equally with me any honor that American Jewry has it in its power to confer.

I single out no man, and yet the name of one especially must be in all your minds. The man who has conducted many of the political affairs of Jewry with such splendid devotion, such magnificent ability, legally and otherwise for so many years.

We are gathered together today at this cradle of American liberty as American citizens and as Jews by race and by faith. This is an historic occasion. For the first time in the history of the country have all classes, all groups, all parties, all factions into which American Jewry has heretofore been divided, come together solemnly but hopefully to deliberate. We are animated by no selfish purposes. For ourselves we desire nothing. Here in our beloved land we Jews form an integral part of the American people as full-fledged citizens of the United States equal in every respect before the law with all of our fellow citizens whether native born or naturalized. And we joyfully renew our pledge of exclusive and unqualified loyalty to the Government of the United States.

But we are part and parcel of Jewry. With our fellow Jews in all lands we have a common inheritance, a common tradition, a common religion and these too impose upon us a duty and a responsibility. The duty to bestir ourselves on behalf of such of them as are denied those fundamental rights to which all free men are entitled, the responsibility of watching and working, that through the enlightened nations of the world justice may be done to them.

This is not the time or occasion to deal in glittering generalities. Solemn decisions are about to be made at the Peace Conference, decisions that will affect for generations and centuries to come, the organization and the constitution of the nations of the world and the fate of hundreds and millions of their people. As American citizens we are concerned that those fundamental principles enunciated by that inspiring leader of humanity, Woodrow Wilson, shall find acceptance at the hands of the European powers; that out of the conflict and chaos, a new world order shall be created; that the noble vision of the prophets shall be realized upon earth; that there shall arise a League of Nations established to promote justice upon earth, to dispel war and strife, to secure for the smaller peoples a true national existence, to assure and to safeguard for every stock and every race the right of self-determination, of self-development and self-expression.

And as Jews we are specifically concerned with the problem of Palestine and with the fate of our brethren in Eastern Europe and in those newer countries of central and Eastern Europe that are now seeking recognition for their national existence at the peace table.

The solution of these questions cannot be found at this Congress. American Jewry can but contribute its best thought and its best men to consult with the representatives of the Jews of other lands and especially with representatives of those Jewries which as a result of the great and successful battles for human freedom have now been released from oppression. We at this Congress shall strike the key-note. Our delegates must go hence clearly instructed as to the fundamental principles whose recognition

by the world powers they are to endeavor to secure. But as to the details and as to the methods, they must be given a free hand.

It is well that this Congress was not called together at an earlier time. Until the victory was clearly in sight American Jewry was somewhat divided. Two years ago the internal conflict was great; a year ago it had lessened; today we are united. A voice here and there, crying in the wilderness may attempt to produce discord; the sublime harmony of the great chorus will drown out the petty notes. The principles for which we stand are clearly enunciated in the call for this Congress. It is that there shall be secured to the Jews everywhere full and equal rights; that there shall be attained for the Jewish groups in those countries in which group rights are recognized and in which the Jews desire that recognition for themselves, equality with other groups.

And finally, there is Palestine. Since November 2nd, 1917, a date that marks a new epoch in the history of the Jewish people, the day when the far-seeing Government of Great Britain proclaimed through the Zionist Organization to the Jews of Great Britain and to the Jews of the world that His Majesty's Government viewed with favor the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, a national existence that would in no way endanger the rights of other peoples of that land, a national existence that would not in the slightest degree injure or impair the full and complete religious civil and political equality of Jews, citizens in other lands, the internal conflicts of Jews on this problem too have well-nigh been settled. The realization through human instrumentalities but under the divine guidance of the solemn hopes and prayers of our ancestors for twenty centuries is at hand. The Jewish people, which during its national existence laid the foundations of modern civilization and through its creative power was enabled to contribute to humanity the highest and the finest religious, moral and ethical values, a people that has had the strength and the vitality to persist despite the most frightful oppression that the world has ever known is now offered the opportunity to re-establish itself on its ancient soil. Great Britain's declaration has found the assuring support of all of our co-belligerents, and America's leader, the President of the United States, in his New Year's greeting to the Jewish people, has given it his unqualified endorsement.

The clouds of doubt have been dispelled. The misconceptions that have clung about the Zionist aims have been cleared away. No one believes any longer that the renaissance of the Jewish people and the ultimate re-establishment of the Jewish commonwealth is a movement to drive all the Jews into Palestine or in the slightest degree to impinge upon their exclusive loyalty to the country of their birth or naturalization. No one expects or desires that all Jewry shall be gathered together in that small land. Through practically all of their history Jews have been scattered. In the ancient days but a nucleus of them constituted the Jewish nation in Palestine. In our days and generation and in the centuries to come no one expects that more than a nucleus of our people will be gathered together in their national home. Those who are so gathered will, however, be sufficient in numbers truly to be representative of the Jewish people. They will there unfold and develop

a Jewish civilization which it is confidently believed will endure not merely to the good of the Jewish nation, but to the benefit of all mankind. Their brethren in other lands will be the bearers of the Palestinian fruits to the tables of their fellow-citizens and through them the light that will come from Zion will be spread throughout the nations of the world.

Just how and when and by what means and through which power and under what political forms this re-establishment shall be brought about, will be one of the problems with which the Zionist world organizations will have primarily to deal. It will be naturally the interpreter of the hopes and the aspirations of the Jewish people to the assembled nations. Our delegates from this Congress should be authorized to offer to that organization on behalf of the Jews of America their fullest and heartiest co-operation, together with such suggestions as this Congress may deem it wise to advance. President Wilson is at the peace conference. He stands for all that the Jewish people desire. His voice will be potent in the realization of their hopes. When this gathering in the world powers shall have eventuated into a League of Nations, the re-establishment of the Jewish nationality will be accomplished. An independent statehood at this time is an impracticable and impossible dream. Palestine must be placed under the trusteeship of one of the great powers, a power that stands for fundamental liberty and democracy. And if it shall be determined that Great Britain, whose armed forces have led in the liberation of the Holy Land from the oppressive rule of the Turks, shall exercise on behalf of the League of Nations the trusteeship in Palestine, then surely the aspirations of the Jewish people will find full and complete recognition.

In our own struggle for this recognition, we are in sympathetic accord with those peoples in Central and Eastern Europe, who though living for centuries in their own land, have heretofore been denied a national existence. American Jewry is in deepest sympathy with these peoples. We rejoice with them that now at last their days of gloom and oppression have passed. But for the Jews in these lands we are deeply concerned. They form and in all probability will form the great majority of the Jews of the world. Unless and until they and all other minority elements shall have secured the rights enunciated in the governing principles of this Congress, the lofty aims that guided our victorious armies will not have been achieved. It was not alone to secure the rights of smaller nationalities for which the Allied forces went forth joyfully in these great battles. It was also to free the world from outrage and oppression, from internal strife and struggle, and to establish democracy for all men and all people. Even in these days of solemn rejoicing the smothered cry of the stricken Jew comes forth. Death and desolation are again the lot of our brethren. Whether they are victims in the conflicts of contending nationalities for territorial power, or of that most pestilential of all diseases, anti-semitism—is about to be determined by an impartial tribunal. The Polish organizations of this country denying the latter situation have requested the appointment of a joint commission to report upon the actual conditions affecting the Jews in their lands. We want the truth. It is our duty to co-operate in securing for the world a full and impartial representation of the facts. Jews everywhere will hail

with satisfaction the reconstruction of the Polish and other nationalities that are now appealing for recognition, provided that in these and in all modern states the full and equal religious, civil and political rights of all inhabitants thereof, irrespective of race or creed, will be fully and absolutely safeguarded beyond all equivocation.

Ladies and gentlemen: The important work before us requires careful and thoughtful and quiet deliberations. Our sessions will be held in a smaller hall. They have been so ordered that we may not lose the character of a deliberative assembly. The essential thing is to think and to then act. Demonstrations at this time are worse than useless. Promptness is vital to our success. Let us, then, in this Congress, demonstrate the devotion and the ability of the Jews seriously to deliberate upon the problems that affect their people in all lands, and let us now, under the Divine Guidance, and in full recognition of the solemn duties and responsibilities that have been cast upon us, proceed to a consideration of the Congress and the serious problems that confront us."

The Congress then continued with the election of other officers. Mr. Robert Silverman moved that ten Vice-presidents to the Congress be elected. An amendment offered by Mrs. Jennie K. Zwick provided for the election of five Vice-presidents. After debate Mr. Samuel Markewich offered a substitute motion providing that a Committee on Officers be appointed by the Chair to recommend names and determine the number of Vice-presidents and report its findings to the Congress. The substitute motion was accepted. Mr. Kolinsky moved that it be the duty of the Committee on Officers to also determine and recommend names for the Secretaries and Treasurer of the Congress. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Cowen arose to a motion that the Chair appoint a Committee of Thirteen on Privileges and Elections to whom all contested election matters shall be referred. Mr. Baruch Zuckerman offered an amendment to Mr. Cowen's motion to the effect that the Committee of Thirteen be elected by the Congress and not appointed by the Chair. A substitute motion introduced by Prof. Hayim Fineman providing that the Committee on Officers also recommend names of members of the Committee of Thirteen was tabled. Mr. Zuckerman's amendment put before the House, was defeated. The original motion that the Chair appoint the Committee was adopted.

A motion instructing the Chair to appoint a Committee of Thirteen on Rules and Regulations governing the proceedings of the Congress was adopted without debate.

Mr. Lipsky then moved that the Chair appoint a Committee on Committees whose duty it shall be to report to the Congress regarding those standing Committees which it is advisable to constitute. A motion to table by Mr. Julius Savitsky was defeated and Mr. Lipsky's motion, duly seconded, was adopted.

Mr. Otto Irving Wise was then recognized. He presented the following resolution:

The American Jewish Congress, speaking on behalf of the Jews of America express their joy in the great victory of the United States and of the Entente countries. We greet the President of the United States and desire to convey to him and to the American Government the profound gratification felt by the Jewish people in his exalted leadership during the course of the War, which has resulted in the recognition of the principle of self-determination of small nationalities and of the right of all men to live in freedom and to enjoy equal opportunities in the pursuit of happiness. We extend to him the best wishes of the Jewish people in his aims and purposes and in his efforts to secure a just and lasting peace through the instrumentality of a League of Nations in order that righteousness and justice may be established and may prevail among nations.

Mr. Wise moved the adoption of this resolution and moved that it be sent to the President of the United States. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Dr. Nahum Syrkin introduced the following resolution:

The American Jewish Congress extends to the Jewish soldiers and sailors of the United States and of our co-belligerents its affectionate greetings. Their valor and the nobility of their conduct on all the battlefields of the war are recognized by the Jewish people with profound gratitude and pride. We glory in these, our sons and brothers, and we lay a wreath on the graves of the thousands who have made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of democracy. We glory, too, in the superb fact that in the Jewish land, Jewish soldiers aided valiantly in bringing about its liberation, and we proudly greet all of our young men who have added an imperishable page to the history of the Jewish people by voluntarily offering themselves as members of the now immortal Jewish Legion.

We pledge ourselves to safeguard the ideals for which they have fought, that the hundreds of thousands who have fallen, and the millions who have suffered may not have died and suffered in vain.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was presented by Mr. de Haas:

The President of the American Jewish Congress is hereby authorized and respectfully asked to request the Department of State to cable the following message to the British Government, and to send a copy of the same to the Governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia and Holland:

The American Jewish Congress, speaking for the Jews of America expresses its appreciation of the historic and epoch-making declaration addressed by His Majesty's Government on

November 2d, 1917, to the Jewish people, through the Zionist Organization, in which it approved of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and pledged to use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object—it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The American Jewish Congress further expresses its appreciation of the approval of the British Declaration expressed by the Governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia and Holland.

The American Jewish Congress pledges the co-operation of the Jews of America to the end that a Jewish national home, as set forth in said declaration, may be realized in a manner worthy of the traditions and the high ideals of the Jewish people.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Upon motion of Mr. de Haas the Congress assembled stood in silence for two minutes as a tribute to the memory of Jewish victims of pogroms in Eastern Europe.

At 8:30 P. M. the session was declared adjourned.

SECOND SESSION

LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 15, 1918—9 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Judge Mack, the Chairman.

The Chair announced the personnel of the following Committees whose creation had been decided upon at the first session:

COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS

Hon. Abram I. Elkus, <i>Chairman</i>	Judge Jacob S. Strahl
Maurice L. Avner	Rabbi B. Boruchoff
Joel Enteen	Jacob Ginsburg
Max Stern	Charles Friend
A. Seelenfreund	Ephraim Lederer

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES

Morris Neuman, <i>Chairman</i>	Charles Silverman
Nathan Kaplan	Charles Cowen
David L. Lourie	Baruch Zuckerman
Maximilian K. Margolis	Rabbi M. H. Harris
Dr. D. B. Steur	I. W. Hellman
Isidor Brodie	I. Kopeloff
Solomon Sufrin	

COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Max Silverstein, <i>Chairman</i>	Dr. S. Ellsberg
Abraham Kolinsky	Dr. I. Marcus
Leo M. Brown	Rabbi Rosenberg
Max Cohen	Leopold Benedict
Julius Meyer	Samuel Dorf Hillel
Henry Eiser	Rabbi C. E. Kauvar
Dr. S. Burg	

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ELECTIONS

A. Leo Weil, <i>Chairman</i>	Solon J. Liebeskind
Prof. David Werner Amram	Herman P. Koppleman
Abraham S. Schomer	Moe Werbelowsky
Henry M. Goldfogel	Morris Rothenberg
Judge Joseph B. David	Prof. Isaac A. Hourwich
Alexander Kahn	Benjamin Koenigsberg
Robert Rosenberg	

The following additional messages of greeting were presented to the Congress by the Secretary:

Austrian Beneficial Association of Philadelphia; Chevover Zion Society, Augusta; Mr. Kovner, Newark; Rabbi Isaac Elchanan, Theological Seminary of New York; Branch 22, J. N. W. A., Pittsburgh; Poale-Zion, Kansas City; First Ind. Kishineff Ladies Sick Benefit Society, New York; University of Pennsylvania Zionist Society; Mizrahi, Atlanta; Elchove Sholom Congregation, Washington, D. C.; First Warschauer Congregation of New York; Warschauer Sick Support Society of New York; Lodge 81, I. O. B. S., Philadelphia; Mrs. Mary L. Kay, Philadelphia; New York Life Insurance Company, Pittsburgh; Jewish Community, Mobile, Ala.; Order Sons of Zion, Pittsburgh; Jewish Congress Committee, Milwaukee; Guards of Zion, New York, Ezra Zion Society, Chicago; Agatham Israel; Branch 18, Workmen's Circle, Gloversville, N. Y.; Rabbi Isaac Elchanan, Theological Seminary, Tulsa, Okla.; Lomzer Aid Society, N. Y.; Congregation B'nai Moshe, Chicago; Zionist Organization, Bridgeport; Jewish Congress Committee, Minnesota; Beth David Hospital, N. Y.; Zionist Organization, Chelsea, Mass.

The Chair introduced Mr. Louis Marshall, who addressed the Congress on the subject of Jewish Rights in Eastern Europe:

#### ADDRESS OF MR. MARSHALL

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates:

It is a source of great satisfaction to me to be permitted to call to your attention a number of facts on which all of us should soberly reflect before we are qualified to act at this Congress with respect to the most important,—and I speak advisedly,—the most important of the subjects on which we have been summoned to deliberate. The future of Palestine is no longer a mooted question. It has become a settled question. The action of the British Government, as announced by its eminent spokesman, Mr. Balfour, endorsed as it has been by France, Italy, Serbia, Greece and other of the Allied nations,—approved as it has been by the President of the United States,—will undoubtedly receive at the Peace Conference which is about to assemble at Versailles, the sanction of all the nations of the world.

It is not for us to say how the problem shall be worked out. Your President, in his address this afternoon, most admirably indicated the various plans which will be presented for consideration by the nations whose guarantee is essential in order to make effective the British Declaration with the several clauses which constitute a component part of it. We here in America sympathize with every Jewish aspiration. Many of us who have in the past been disconnected with the Zionist organization, have nevertheless felt that it would be a privilege to assist in the rehabilitation of the land of our fathers.

This is not on my part an eleventh hour recantation or acceptance of principles. There are some of us who have in the past been classed as anti-Zionist,—which we never were,—who have gladly inaugurated work

in the Holy Land for the purpose of developing it agriculturally and educationally. Personally I was connected with the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Haifa from its beginning. I was also one of the short-lived members of the Board of Trustees of the Technicum, and as such had the honor of participating in the first war against Germany growing out of the unfortunate, as it appeared then, experience of the Technicum, but which proved a blessing in disguise.

I pass therefore from the subject of Palestine to that which should give us all the greatest concern,—the welfare, the protection, the emancipation of the Jews of Eastern Europe. This is the time, if the time shall ever come in our sad history, when light can be made to break upon it. This is the accepted time and hour when the united will of the Jewish people must be heard at the peace table, to the end that we shall not again be fed upon false promises as we were in 1878 and that liberty as a fact and not as a phrase may be the outcome.

Russia is now in a turmoil. She has been split into several, yes, into many states. Conditions which now prevail in that vast area it is difficult at this time suitably to weigh. I am confident that if the orderly elements of Russia shall once more come into power, I refer to such elements as those led by Prince Lvoff, Milyukov, Konovalov, Manuilov, Maklakov and Kerensky, men honored throughout the world as the exponents of Justice and Liberty,—the men whose first act when they came into office was to abolish all of the hateful and oppressive laws against the Jews and to wipe them from the statute book,—I say that if men like these shall return to power with a strong and liberal government, then it is certain that the rights of the Jews of Russia will be fully protected, and that they will then enjoy absolute equality in a nation founded upon the principles of constitutional law.

Today, however, Russia is divided into many territories, each with its own problem. It is not for us, a people seeking rights for itself, to take sides in the bitter controversies that have arisen. Our interest is in the preservation of law and order and the disappearance of the tyranny and despotism of monarchies and anarchies alike. It must be our purpose to protect the rights of our own people. That is our specific problem—a task sufficiently large to occupy our thoughts exclusively. We are not sitting around the peace table. It is not for us to say where the boundaries of any of the nations of the world shall be fixed or located. I say this most earnestly by way of caution, lest we should here undertake to do that which is entirely beyond our jurisdiction and which if attempted would prove to be the height of unreason and involve supreme danger. Such an unwarranted effort would inevitably lead to the usual consequence of multiplying our enemies and of grinding us into dust between the upper and the nether mill-stone. We have had enemies enough in the past. We desire no enemies. We want friends and equal rights for all men in all lands.

Then there is Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, new states desiring recognition at the Peace Congress, states which present for solution their own problems, in which the Jews of those regions will be concerned to the same

extent as all other people residing within the boundaries, whatever they may be, that shall eventually be assigned to these new states. It is not for us to give expression to views on the political issues arising out of the aspirations of the inhabitants of those areas.

Then there is the question of Roumania—not merely that of the old Roumania consisting of Wallachia and Moldavia—but of the new Roumania that has been projected, which seeks to add to the present boundaries Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bucovina. There are now between 250,000 and 300,000 Jews in the old Roumania. Should the new Roumania be organized with this additional territory, the population of Roumania would probably include 750,000 Jews. Hence the Roumanian problem as affecting our people, serious and tragic as it has been, becomes even more significant, because it affects the rights and liberties not only of those to whom they have been hitherto denied, but also of those who have for some years at least enjoyed a certain measure of human rights. The amelioration of the fate of the Jews of Roumania now assumes for us a task of huge dimensions.

But the greatest, the most important, the most difficult of our complications, are those which revolve around the new state of Poland which is sought to be created. As projected, that will include Russian Poland,—I do not express any opinion as to what the boundaries should be,—but as projected, that would include Russian Poland, Galicia, a part of Silesia, a part of Prussian Poland with a window upon the Baltic Sea at Danzig. A Poland thus constituted would have a Jewish population of practically four million. It is the future of these our brethren that we should take to heart tonight, so long as this Congress shall remain in session, and every moment that shall elapse from now on until the Peace Conference shall have pronounced the verdict of immediate, complete and unconditional emancipation.

We know, to our great sorrow, of the sufferings of the Jews in all these countries. We know how in Roumania they were cheated out of the heritage of liberty intended to be conferred upon them, by a crime which has no parallel in history. Not only were they cheated, but the Great Powers that sought to protect them were also cheated. They demanded that Roumania should give to the Jews equal rights, and Roumania promised that it would do so. And then, by a dishonorable and dishonoring trick, Roumania declared that the rights which she had pledged herself to accord to all of her citizens were to be withheld from the Jews because it was arbitrarily insisted that they were not citizens, but aliens, in spite of the fact that they had for centuries lived in Roumania and had no other home on earth. Rights of citizenship, it was insisted, could only be acquired by such Jews as were granted naturalization by special acts of the Roumanian Parliament. But these acts of grace have been studiously withheld, so that only 300 Jews have been naturalized by means of such legislation during the past 40 years. Added to this iniquity is the terrible fact that, since 1878, as many as 220 restrictive laws have been passed by the Parliament of Roumania aimed against the Jews, which have literally taken from them the few remnants, not of rights, but of privileges which had been grudgingly

vouchsafed to them. It is really impossible for us who have by Divine Providence been enabled to breathe the free air of America, to grasp the significance and the enormity of this exhibition of man's inhumanity to man.

Reverting once more to Poland, I shall not deal with what may in these swift years be termed ancient history. Professor Friedlander, in his admirable work on Poland, portrays the sufferings of the Polish Jews. We are all familiar with them. We all know of the patriotism of the Jews of Poland and their devotion to the land of their birth. We all know of their participation in the various revolutions by which it was sought to regain Polish freedom. We also know that even during the Polish Revolution of 1862, in which so many Jews took a leading part, among them the late Dr. Marcus Jastrow of this city, when it was proposed to grant the Jews equal rights, it was done in connection with a law which recited that in consideration of securing the rights to which they were unquestionably entitled in common with all other Poles, the Jews would be required to submit to the indignity of forgoing the use of Yiddish and Hebrew languages in speech and in their commercial dealings. We also know, alas, that ever since 1912 there has been in active progress in Poland that horrible economic boycott which has threatened the absolute annihilation and extermination of our brethren in Poland. It is said that the boycott has recently ended. If it has ended, it has only been for an inappreciable period. We know further, that that boycott has been in operation for practically six years. We know how it has poisoned the very roots of government, how it has incessantly worked into the consciousness of the entire population. We know further what a tremendous burden of sorrow and destitution it has imposed upon the Jews of Poland. We have also heard during the past weeks, by means of cablegrams received from Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Paris, and other parts of Europe, that pogroms and massacres have been taking place in Poland, Galicia and Roumania, accompanied not only by loss of life, but by the looting and the destruction of property.

It is denied by some of the Polish leaders that such pogroms have actually occurred. It is admitted that lives have been lost and that there have been outbreaks, but it is alleged that they have been the concomitants of Civil War and that in the natural course of such warfare Jews have been injured and killed. In the course of these outbreaks it is said that the Ruthenians and the Poles have fought, that the Jews have taken part on both sides, and consequently they with others have sustained loss of life and injury. That is the statement made on behalf of the Poles. This information does not correspond with that which has come to us from other sources, reputable and trustworthy. At all events grave conditions unquestionably prevail.

Some of us have given careful study to the Polish situation, as we have to that of Roumania and other lands, in anticipation of the termination of the war and with full appreciation of the fact that at the peace table the fate of Poland as well as that of its Jews and those of other lands in which they live, will of necessity be determined. It has been our purpose to secure guarantees that if new Governments are created or new and

enlarged states are formed, it must be upon compliance with conditions precedent which will in law and in fact secure to the Jews those equal rights for which they have so long striven and to which as living, sentient beings, they are justly entitled. We shall not accept any false promises or any transparent shams. We shall not content ourselves with anything less than adequate guarantees, enforceable by the powers, that shall insist upon the giving of such guarantees. We do not propose to repeat the unfortunate Roumanian experience. Our eyes have been opened to the necessity of precise definition and self-executing grants, and if we fail now in the fruition of our purpose it will not be because of lack of vision or of effort on our part.

Since last April a number of us, including Mr. Schiff, Mr. Rosenwald, Judge Mack, Oscar S. Straus, Dr. Wise and Mr. de Haas, have been in conference with the leaders of the Polish Party in this country, including Mr. Paderewski, the representative in America of the National Polish Committee of which Mr. Dmowski is the Chairman, Mr. John F. Smulski and others. We received sweet words of promise from them eight months ago, but we were not given the assurance of an immediate termination of the boycott, which we demanded as a sine qua non. We were informed that a favorable recommendation would be made to the Polish National Committee of Paris, but we heard nothing from that body or its agents, although we had been promised an early answer, until the latter part of September. Then, after repeated efforts to obtain action, we received a communication to the effect that the Paris Committee had adopted a resolution which, in substance, stated that all citizens of Poland would be assured equal civil, religious and political rights. Here, again, the word "citizen" was used; we were again regaled with practically the same form of expression found in the Berlin Treaty of 1878 and which proved a Dead Sea apple. Of course we were not satisfied. Then followed a series of conferences with Mr. Dmowski, with Mr. Paderewski, and with both of them together, who finally decided that they would promptly take up the subject with their Paris Committee and inform us of the conclusion reached through their American representatives. Then came the new turn of the political kaleidoscope of Poland, and General Pilsudski appeared at the head of political and military affairs there, with an army at his command.

Of course nobody can say how many more twists there will be to that kaleidoscope which marks the shifting scene of Eastern European agitation. That does not concern us. If there is to be a new and independent and enlarged Poland, it matters not whether Dmowski, or Paderewski, or Pilsudski, or their respective followers, shall be at the head. Whoever it may be, justice must be done to the Jews. All these different conferences, and they were many in number and long and wearisome, and all of them followed by correspondence, culminated during the past week in a series of meetings with the representatives of the National Polish Department, that being the American branch of the National Polish Committee of Paris of which Messrs. Dmowski and Paderewski are the leaders, who are represented in this country by Mr. John F. Smulski, and The Polish National Defense Committee, which is the representative here of the Pilsudski party, consisting of radical and socialist Poles liberal in their tendencies—the

popular element of Poland—as distinguished from the aristocratic element. These organizations apparently have come together, recognizing the necessity of union in order that they may secure for Poland the rights for which they will ask the Peace Conference. Hence they have also recognized the fact that at this time they cannot ignore, but must reckon with the Jews. They are sufficiently impressed with that fact and they realize that they cannot afford to disregard the Jews who are as much a part of Poland as the Poles, and that mere promises will not now prove sufficient. They no longer doubt that there will be those who will seek to convince the world that no people whoever they may be are entitled to national existence and to national rights until they are prepared to respect and give full recognition to the rights of minorities. In this spirit they have come to us. They have sought to convince us that there have been no pogroms. They have admitted, as their leaders had admitted, the existence of a destructive anti-Jewish boycott. Some of them have ventured the thought that even that has been exaggerated, if exaggeration were possible. But in view of the fact that their leader, Mr. Dmowski, not only conceded its extent as well as its continued existence, and had boasted that he was its inventor and was even pleased to hear it characterized as monstrous because he liked that word, they finally came to the point of saying that although there had been this boycott, it was no longer in force but had spent itself.

I do not care to what extent they may be permitted to save their faces provided we can accomplish what it is so essential to accomplish, the emancipation of our brethren in Poland. We have no feelings of animosity against any people in the world even though we have for ages been grievously wronged. We Jews know too well what hatred and animosity mean. We know that for these twenty centuries we have been the victims of senseless hate and blind passion. We further are ready to show by our example that, knowing what national hatreds are, we seek their extirpation. We are prepared to forgive the past. We only ask that our future may be secure. In Palestine the Jews have pledged themselves to recognize the rights of every people and of every creed. The Jews of America know what it means to live in harmony and unity with their fellow-citizens whatever their nationality or origin may be. The Jews of Poland would only be too happy were a great and powerful Poland established in which they may have a voice and part and to whose development they may contribute an equal share of love, loyalty and devotion. We, therefore, are not opposed to any Poland that the Peace Conference may be prepared to organize,—provided only that the Poland so created, whatever its territory may be, shall recognize the fundamental rights of liberty for all of its inhabitants, and shall confer them with proper guarantees upon every man, woman and child within her boundaries, however humble they may be.

After much discussion we have just received from the Polish conferees a document signed by the representatives of those two important Polish organizations, which claim a constituency of four and one-half million non-

Jewish Poles in America. It is addressed to the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist Organization of America and reads as follows:

GENTLEMEN:

Communications emanating from various sources have been in circulation in this country during the past few weeks, to the effect that pogroms have been conducted in Poland and Galicia resulting in the massacre of Jews and in the destruction of their property.

The Polish National Department and the Polish National Defense Committee do not admit the truth of these reports believing as they do, that such practices are contrary to the traditions and inconsistent with the character of the Polish people, nor do they believe that any industrial boycott is now in force in Poland.

Speaking as representatives, and in the name of the four and a half million Poles in the United States and Canada they declare that they are unalterably opposed to pogroms and boycott under any circumstances whatsoever.

They firmly assert their belief in and declare their readiness to support the principle that the Jews in Poland are entitled to the same rights and protection as any other part of the people of Poland.

They stand for a United and Independent Poland grounded upon the same principles and religious, political and industrial freedom as are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

They deplore the reports now in circulation especially since they consider them to be conducive to differences such as are sought to be avoided.

They have therefore proposed to the Jews of America that a commission be constituted, composed of two Jews and two Poles of the United States, and of two representative Americans who are neither Jews nor Poles, for the purpose of investigating the actual conditions in Poland affecting the Jews and of making a public report of their findings.

(Signed) JOHN F. SMULSKI,  
*President National Polish Department.*  
T. M. HELINSKI,  
*Member National Polish Department.*  
ALEXANDER H. DEBSKI,  
BRONISLAW D. KULAKOWSKI,  
*For Polish National Defense Committee.*

This is at least a frank statement on several points: first, that they hold in abhorrence and detestation pogroms and boycotts, under any circumstances whatsoever; secondly, that they recognize the principle that the Jews must have full and equal rights of citizenship in Poland; thirdly, that those rights are to be protected and are to be as complete as those that are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States to the citizens of our glorious and beloved country. That is probably all that can be expected from any Peace Conference, provided that it shall write these conditions into the Treaty by which its deliberations are to culminate and which is to constitute the Charter of the new Government to be created in terms that will not brook violation. These conditions must be written into the Magna Charta of 1919, not as they were in 1878 into the Treaty of Berlin, as the expression of a mere desire, of a pious wish, or an academic aspiration, but in such a form and in such burning words that they will of necessity become conditions precedent without compliance with which the organization of the new or enlarged Governments will become futile. The adoption and incorporation into the Constitutions of these new or enlarged States of clauses which will effectuate the will of the Peace Conference must precede and not

follow the going into operation of the chartered rights of such States. This and this only will confer on the Jews of these lands the rights which they demand and to which according to the enlightened conscience of mankind and especially of the protagonists of liberty, they are entitled.

Of course we must look upon this as a practical question. We cannot change humanity over night. A Peace Conference cannot make men different from what they are. Those who have the writing of the Treaty in charge must see to it that the pact which is made, the contract that is entered into, shall be self-effectuating, shall be enforceable by its signatories, and shall have behind it such sanction as shall render it at all times an effective, irrepudiable instrument. We cannot as Jews afford to invite animosities, to embark upon controversies, to say that this or that shall not be done, or that this or that State shall not be formed, or that the boundaries of the respective States shall be here or there. Again I say, we are not seated at the peace table. It is not within our power or within our desire to determine these political issues. Various new or expanded Nations are about to be organized. The Jews constitute but a fraction of each of them. Their lot is with the people among whom they are to live. They can only insist, and I wish to repeat it over and over again, that if these Nations, however few or numerous they may be and however weak or powerful, are formed, then the Jews must be assured by those Nations of rights in every way equal to those of any other inhabitant of the State in which they may dwell. That is the fundamental principle of justice and righteousness for which we must and for which we shall not cease to contend until time shall be no more.

An outline of the provisions regarded essential for the protection of these rights has been prepared. It is expected that in due time they will be formulated for presentation through this Congress, or its representatives to the Peace Conference at Versailles. I deem it important, however, again to lay stress on the controlling idea that the compelling business that we have in hand must not be approached from the standpoint of passion, or of past grievances, or of the bitter experiences of a martyr-people, although these experiences will serve as a lamp by which to guide our feet and to point out the path of prudence and of safety. Let us rather approach the solution of the various phases of the problem in the spirit that prompts reasonable men when required to dispose of a practical business proposition which has led to differences and controversies, calling for adjustment, to the end that they may dwell in peace and harmony. After all, nations and peoples are but the aggregates of many units. The same principle applies to them and to their controversies and misunderstanding as are applicable to the controversies and relations of individuals.

Reverting to the communication from the Polish Organizations, let me say, that in our communications and conversation with them, there has been given no indication as to what our action will be. We have merely given the assurance that we would present the document which I have read, at this Congress, so that you may determine whether or not the offer that has been made shall be accepted and a commission appointed composed as indicated, to investigate the facts.

As Judge Mack stated this afternoon, what we all desire to know is the truth. If we can ascertain the exact truth as a result of an independent investigation in which we ourselves will have a part, much can be accomplished to clear the atmosphere. We need not then depend on telegrams or cablegrams, nor will the public mind be disturbed by conflicting reports. The gentlemen chosen for the Commission should be men of such high character and so distinguished for their judicial qualities that their determination will command general confidence. It is desirable that the facts be reported impartially to enable the public to form a correct judgment. Our readiness and willingness to know the facts, whatever they be, will gain for us the respect of our fellow citizens. Let the truth be known by all the world. Our cause rests on truth. This is not the only commission which is to investigate Polish conditions. The press has announced within the last day or so, that General Foch, the superb commander in chief of the Allied Armies, the man who snatched victory out of defeat and who goes down into history not only as one of the greatest soldiers, but also as an exalted statesman,—has recognized the seriousness of the reports which have come from Eastern Europe and is said to have taken measures to send a commission into Poland to investigate the facts. This affords persuasive evidence that the Allied powers deem it important to know just what the facts are. Here is an opportunity for us to assist in the investigation.

I have now cursorily set forth my impressions as to what constitute the controlling points upon which we must here take action. We should define the subjects which call for consideration at the peace table, with relation to the Jews who are now living in exile and who we earnestly hope may speedily be assured those blessings for which they have yearned and prayed and struggled through centuries of suffering, persecution and oppression—liberty, equality and the undisturbed pursuit of happiness. This is the consummation towards which our efforts must be directed with unanimity of spirit and in the confidence that justice and humanity will triumph at the Assizes of the Nations at which, I am confident, will be proclaimed liberty throughout the world and to all the inhabitants thereof."

Judge David moved and it was seconded that Mr. Marshall's address be printed in English and in Yiddish, and that copies be distributed among the delegates elected to the Congress. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Zuckerman moved that Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky be accorded the privilege of addressing the Congress. The motion was adopted and Dr. Zhitlowsky delivered the following address:

"Fellow Delegates:

The National Socialist wing of the first American Jewish Congress has honored me as its special delegate and has asked me to extend its greetings to this Congress from which we all expect so much for our people's future. With a clear conscience, national socialists can take upon themselves the chief credit for the calling of the Congress. We believe that the Congress

will be equal to the great task which confronts it, and will direct its actions in a manner indicating a full comprehension of the meaning of these eventful days.

In the past few months, new chapters have been evolved in the history of our people. This Congress opens up a new book in that the unbroken current of our history will receive a new impetus, and will illuminate for us broader horizons. The Congress opens up a new book in that for the first time in our history it rests upon a pure national basis un eclipsed and unentangled by other spiritual aspirations and traditions.

As with other peoples, the foundation of our national structure must be the fundamental principle of a separation between State and religion; a clear-cut separation of the Jewish religious conception from the Jewish national idea. In other words, the Jewish people must erect its national structure on the same democratic and free principles which govern all the free States of the world, which mean light and warmth in the health and normal development of a people.

The formidable task before us is then, full, national liberation and equality among all of the peoples of the world, not as a religious but as a national unit. Ours is a purpose which will bind us together and the fundamental principle of Jewish nationalism must be recognized by the family of nations. This new undertaking will add impetus and will fructify and reinvigorate the ancient dream of our national life. The invigorated Jewish dream will again discover the elements of fructification, the roots of which are set deep in the soil of our prophets. The light of the endless horizons which our prophets have given to the world will revive itself in its whole breadth and greatness. Each nation is a family of equal brethren; the whole world a family of equal nations. This is the new light we now see creeping forth from the midst of the world cataclysm.

Fired by the sacred spirit of these recognized truths, we will endeavor to bring forth in a free national life those forces which have been suppressed and have become dormant in our life in the diaspora. The beginning of a new book in our history, the laying of the foundation stone of a new national structure, the great impulse in the revival of Jewish creative forces, the reinvigoration of its ancient roots—this the American Jewish Congress will give us.

This conception of the significance and scope of the Congress has been dictated by an imperative need to place the Congress on a level which will make our demands clear to the world and clear to ourselves. These demands are:

First: A recognized and guaranteed national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Second: Full civil, religious, political and national rights in the countries in which they are demanded.

Third: A permanent Jewish Congress in America and an all-Jewish Congress of the world.

Fellow delegates: While we here are celebrating the opening of the first American Jewish Congress, the prelude to world freedom is being written in Paris. And it is indeed mournful that at the very time when President Wilson is seeking to apply the principles of Isaiah to the world, we, Isaiah's people, must protest against the pogroms waged against our brothers. There must be an end to this mockery. We demand of the world that liberty and freedom which will give us the opportunity to create a healthy, national existence and development for our people.

Long live Israel! United Jewry lives! The brotherhood of man lives, and the glorious future for peoples and for nations!"

During the course of Dr. Zhitlowsky's address considerable opposition developed among the Mizrachi faction of the Congress, which resulted in prolonged debate as to the propriety of withdrawing the privilege of the floor from Dr. Zhitlowsky.

Mr. Marshall: It will take only a few minutes before this address is finished.

Let us indicate that however much we may disagree with the speaker, in this Congress, everyone has the right to be heard. Now, gentlemen, I wish to address myself to the religious part of this Congress. You know very well that my sympathies are with your point of view, but I would consider myself less an American if I could not sit here and listen to anybody express his view. Now I ask you as Americans and as Jews to listen. You need not follow the teachings of the speaker, but listen to him with respect. It must never be said of a Jewish audience that it is unwilling to hear anything.

Mr. Wise: The Chair has accorded me the floor on a question of personal privilege. I rise to protest as a representative to this Congress, that the courtesy of the representatives has been grossly violated and abused, that my privilege as a member of this Congress has been invaded, my personal religious aspirations insulted, and if any member of this Congress as learned and as distinguished and as able as the speaker or any one else intrudes deliberately upon my religious ideals it is my contention that he violates the courtesy of the floor, and I therefore move as a special privilege that the courtesy extended to the speaker be now withdrawn.

Judge Mack: The Chair has been unable to follow the Yiddish address, and therefore does not fully appreciate the cause of the commotion. The privilege of the floor was extended by your vote to Dr. Zhitlowsky, and it may be withdrawn by your vote whenever you desire. The question of whether it should be withdrawn or should not be withdrawn is a matter not for the Chair to decide, but is a matter for the Congress to decide. It is not within the province of the Chair either to grant the privilege or withdraw the privilege. The question of granting the privilege was placed before this Congress and you voted in favor of it. The question of withdrawing the privilege will now be placed before the Congress for your action.

Mr. Zuckerman: I do not understand the position taken by the Mizrahi delegates. When Rabbi Levinthal offered prayer, our faction did not raise any opposition. For us this is a question of national freedom and not only of religious freedom. I appeal to the tolerance of the religious faction to permit us the same rights which we have granted them.

Mr. Bullick: It has been clearly understood that no question or discussion should be brought up in this Congress which might create a split, and we protest against the speech of Dr. Zhitlowsky because it provokes a dangerous discussion. However, no faction here has more tolerance than the Mizrahi faction, and I move therefore, that Dr. Zhitlowsky be permitted to conclude his address.

Judge Fisher was recognized and asked that the privilege of the floor be withdrawn, followed by Dr. Friedlander who urged that the speaker be permitted to continue. After an understanding proposed by the Chair, that a representative of the Mizrahi be permitted to reply to Dr. Zhitlowsky's remarks, Dr. Zhitlowsky concluded his address.

Rabbi Meyer Berlin, representing the Mizrahi delegation, then addressed the Congress as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and delegates:

Together with you during the past three years, I have waited for the happy moment in which all American Jews would gather in an American Jewish Congress. However, I had not expected to appear before you and have the honor of addressing you. Therefore I have no speech prepared. I think, however, that the group to which I have the honor to belong, and who are here represented should present their thoughts and opinions concerning those things which have brought us together, and the things we hope to accomplish.

We, the Mizrahi faction in the first American Jewish Congress, with which are associated all religious-national Jews here gathered, expect first of all from the Congress a strengthening of Jewry not only external but internal. The spirit of freedom must burn within us so that we may plant our feet firmly forward, and not turn back. When our opportunity comes, we must grasp it with power and skill. We believe that only then will we return to Palestine, when we surrender ourselves to Judaism not translated into strange languages or other forms of religion. We hold such translations to be dangerous. At a time like this when all elements of Jewry come together in a great convention, we must first of all seek for that which will unite us, and not for that which will divide us.

The Mizrahi faction is concerned not only with the question of Palestine, but with the question of the Jews in all lands, and their demands for national rights. National rights means the safety of our Sabbaths and our Holy Days, of our schools and our language. We demand all rights which are necessary for the safety and well-being of our people. We demand that the darkness that surrounds us be dispelled; that the privileges and rights we

now enjoy, be not taken from us. We believe that just as we need an independent, material government in Palestine, so do we need an independent spiritual government in lands where the Jews are discriminated against.

Let us make sure that at the same time we build new structures, we do not destroy the old and the holy things. Let us make sure that we do not undermine our interests and our ideals. We for our part believe that the more we embrace Judaism, the stronger Jews will we be.

We await the adoption of certain resolutions here. Some resolutions have already been adopted. I wish to compliment the Zionists who have understood the necessity of founding Zionism on its traditional basis. Traditional Judaism will not bring about the birth of a new Judaism for which this or that group will seek credit, but the old Judaism and the holy Judaism still lives and will live."

The Chair announced that because Ambassador Elkus had been compelled to leave Philadelphia, Mr. Maurice L. Avner would act in his stead as Chairman of the Committee on Officers.

The session was declared adjourned at 12 P. M.

---

THIRD SESSION

---

LU LU TEMPLE

---

DECEMBER 16, 1918

---

The session was opened with prayer by Dr. H. Pereira Mendes.

Messages of greeting from the following organizations and persons were presented by the Secretary:

Poale-Zion, Malden, Mass.; Mizrachi, Worcester, Mass.; Congress Committee of Canadian Jews, Montreal; Hebrew Institute, White Plains; Branch 1, Poale-Zion, Cleveland; Jewish Soldiers, Camp Devens; Ohavei Zion Society, New Haven, Conn.; Sick Benefit Association, Brooklyn; Canadian Red Mogen Dovid Society; Poale-Zion, Rochester; Knesseth Israel Synagogue, Minneapolis; Red Mogen Dovid, New Haven; Jewish Morning Journal, New York; Federation of Palestinian Jews; Congregation Beth Hamedresh Hagodol, Baltimore.

Dr. Harry Friedenwald presented the report of the Commission on Palestine. It was decided to refer the report to the Committee on Palestine which was to be created by the Congress at a subsequent time during its sessions.

The Commission on Poland was asked to render its report. At this time Judge Mack said: "I was Chairman of the Committee on Poland and it was decided that Nahum Sokolow should be requested to prepare the material. Mr. Sokolow has been unable on account of conditions in Poland to submit his material and we have therefore received no report from him. A report was rather clearly compiled under the direction of Mr. Marshall, which has just been presented to you, and if there is no objection, we shall present that report to the proper Committee." It was so ordered.

The Committee on Rules and Regulations then submitted its report through Mr. Weil, its Chairman. After debate and amendment, the following report of the Committee on Rules and Regulations governing the procedure of the Congress was adopted:

## THE RULES OF PROCEDURE

1st. Except as qualified by special rules hereinafter, the usual rules of parliamentary practice shall govern the proceedings of the Congress.

2nd. All resolutions and motions, in the nature of a resolution, other than those relating to procedure, shall be in writing and shall without reading or discussion be referred to the appropriate standing committees by the President, and no motion in the nature of a resolution or resolutions shall be brought before the Congress except on report of committee.

3rd. All standing committees shall have power to adopt regulations with reference to its own procedure and shall grant hearings on resolutions and motions referred to them and determine the time and number of the speeches to be made at said hearings, and all resolutions and motions shall be reported back to the Congress.

4th. The Chairmen of the respective standing committees together with the President of the Congress (or in his absence the Vice-president presiding in his stead) and the Secretary of the Congress shall report on the order of business and what shall be considered at the respective sessions of the Congress or they may delegate this power from time to time to special committees to be appointed for the purpose by said chairman and officers.

5th. Where a definite length of time is fixed within which to consider and debate any motion or resolution the expiration of said time without unanimous consent of the Congress shall *ipso facto* operate as the adoption of motion for the previous question and the motion or resolution shall thereupon be submitted to vote.

6th. No delegate other than the chairman of the Reporting Committee or his appointee to support in his place, any motion or resolution so reported, shall speak more than once on the same motion or resolution, except the two-third consent of the Congress.

7th. By motion the time for debate and length of the respective speeches may be limited.

8th. The president shall appoint such number of sergeants at arms as he may deem proper. They shall have charge of the floors and doors. The president may increase the same from time to time as he deems necessary or may make appointments therefor for special sessions.

9th. Excepting Rule 2nd which can be suspended only by unanimous consent, these rules shall not be suspended except upon a two-thirds vote of the delegates present.

The Committee on Officers rendered its report and presented the names for Vice-presidents of the Congress of the following delegates:

Louis Marshall	Gedaliah Bublick
Harry Cutler	Henrietta Szold
Hugo Pam	Louis S. Rubinsohn
Leon Sanders	M. S. Margolies
Harry Friedenwald	Hayim Fineman
Adolf Kraus	Alexander Kahn

Bernard G. Richards, *Secretary*

*Associate Secretaries*

Max Hollander	Isaac Allen
Martin O. Levy	William Edlin
Max Pine	

Jacob H. Schiff, *Treasurer*

Mr. Baroness moved that the report of the Committee on Officers so far as it concerned Vice-presidents and Treasurer be adopted. The motion duly seconded, was unanimously adopted.

Prof. Fineman arose to a motion that there be appointed a Yiddish and a Hebrew Secretary in addition to the English Secretary. His motion was seconded and debate followed. A motion to table was made which was later withdrawn by Mr. de Haas, its proposer. The original report was then amended, designating Mr. Bernard G. Richards as English Secretary; Mr. William Edlin, Yiddish Secretary; Mr. Isaac Allen, Hebrew Secretary, and Messrs. Max Hollander, Martin O. Levy and Max Pine Associate Secretaries. The report was thereupon adopted.

Upon motion, the session was declared adjourned at 2:30 P. M.

FOURTH SESSION

LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 16, 1918—3 P. M.

Judge Mack called the meeting to order.

The Secretary presented to the Congress the following additional telegrams of greeting:

Jewish Daily Eagle, Montreal; League of Jewish Yough of America, Wheeling; Zionist Organization, Wheeling, W. Va.; David Fish Lodge, I. O. B. B.; Jewish Carpenters Local, 175, Cleveland; Zionist District No. 2, New York; Poale-Zion, Montreal; Progressive Order of the West, Chicago; Lodge 576, I. O. B. B., Washington; H. Cohen, Philadelphia; Cloakmakers Union, Baltimore; Zionist Organization, Pennsgrove, N. J.; Mizrachi, Syracuse; Kneseth Israel Synagogue, Gloversville; Hebrew Free School, Brownsville; Branch 250, Workmen's Circle, Pittsburgh; Students Theological Seminary, New York; Rabbi Jacob Eskolsky, New York; Mamaroneck Social Aid Society; Jewish Community, Bay City, Mich.; New Hampshire Congress Committee.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections rendered the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

Full Committee met and passed upon the following contest after hearing both sides and considering all of the facts presented. The Committee also heard Prof. Horwich, Chairman of the General Board of Elections.

Rabbi H. Solomon, formerly of Atlanta, Ga., and now of Boston, contested the seating of Samuel M. Castleton. Rabbi Solomon received 838 votes. About four and a half months ago Rabbi Solomon moved to Boston and the General Board of Elections notified Mr. Castleton that he would be seated as a delegate, claiming that the removal of Rabbi Solomon creates a vacancy. The Committee recommends that both be seated and each given a full vote.

Rabbi Epstein of Toledo was elected unanimously and then moved to Boston and claims that he should be seated. Committee recommends that he be seated.

E. Lisitsky and Charles Friend, both of Milwaukee, were elected. Mr. Lisitsky then moved to New Orleans. General Board of Elections declared a vacancy and notified Nathan Sand, who received the next highest vote that he would be seated. Lisitsky and Sands are both present. Committee recommends that both be seated and each given a full vote.

Mr. Gordon of Minneapolis was duly elected, but could not attend, and Rabbi Matt, the next highest, was declared seated by the General Board of Elections. Committee recommends that Rabbi Matt be seated.

Dr. A. S. Wolf was declared elected by the General Board of Elections over Dr. Goland, owing to a dispute with the Local Board. The facts appear on pages 35 to 36 of the Report of the General Board of Elections. Committee recommends that both Dr. Goland and Dr. Wolf be seated and each accorded a full vote.

Dr. A. B. Yudelson of Chicago, being in service in France, Jacob Miller, who received the next highest number of votes, was substituted in his place and the Committee recommends that this action be approved. Owing to the vacancy created by the absence of Jacob Siegel and Jacob G. Grossberg and the advancement of Jacob Miller to Dr. Yudelson's place, the latter having but a one-third vote originally, the Committee recommends that Nathan Rosenfield, A. S. Roe and Paul Rissman who received the next highest votes be substituted in their place, each being accorded a one-third vote.

The General Board of Elections accorded Rabbi Ehrenreich and Mr. Oberdorfer each a one-half vote, but recommended to the Congress that each be accorded a full vote. The Committee recommends that this be accepted.

Messrs. Rosenthal and Rosenberg, Seattle and Tacoma, each were accorded a one-half vote by the General Board of Elections who recommends that they be each accorded a full vote by the Congress. Committee recommends that this be accepted.

Messrs. Rubinstein, Shatkin and Boyman of Providence each were accorded a two-thirds vote and the General Board of Elections recommended that each be accorded a full vote. Committee recommends approval.

Committee also recommends that Bernard G. Richards, Executive Secretary and Jacob Carlinger, Honorary Financial Secretary of the Congress Organization and also of the Executive and Administrative Committees be elected honorary delegates to the Congress.

Prof. Hourwich moved that the report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections be adopted and that in addition, all delegates whose names appeared on the roll-call as read by the Secretary at the first session, be considered duly accredited delegates to the Congress, and that those delegates who had been accorded fractional votes be considered as entitled to full votes. The report of the Committee and the amendments of Dr. Hourwich were unanimously adopted.

The Chair then requested the Commission on Russia to render its report. Prof. Hourwich in behalf of that Committee, gave a summary of its report, first explaining that it had been expected that Mr. Herman Bernstein, Chairman of the Commission, would prepare a report, but that he had left the United States and had been unable to do so. Upon motion of Judge Pam, it was ordered that the report of the Commission on Russia be referred to the proper standing Committee.

Mr. Baroness then submitted the report of the Commission on Roumania. It was further suggested that as new material had accumulated since the Commission's report was prepared, Mr. Leo Wolfson be requested to read a special summary of new material, concerning the condition of the Jews in Roumania. Mr. Wolfson then read his summary, explaining that it had been prepared on the basis of an exhaustive report on the subject by Dr. Leon Feraru. Mr. Solomon Sufrin also took the floor and spoke of the more recent developments of the subject, after which the several reports were referred to the proper standing Committee.

Mr. Bernard Semel, Chairman of the Commission on Galicia, was not present at this session. Dr. Samuel Margoshes, a member of the Commission, therefore presented the Commission's report, explaining that the material of the Commission's report was based on an exhaustive treatise on the subject prepared by Mr. Leon Chasanowitz and forwarded from Copenhagen.

The Commission on the Balkan States was then asked to render its report. It was explained that Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the Commission, was unable to be present at this session. The report of the Commission was then referred to the proper standing Committee.

Mr. Abraham S. Schomer then reported for the Commission on Previous Attempts to Secure Jewish Rights and introduced the following resolution:

First: RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress shall call into being a permanent international Jewish Congress with Executive Officers to represent and act for the whole Jewish people.

Second: RESOLVED that a Committee of twenty-five members of this body be appointed to carry out the previous resolution.

This resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Colonel Cutler was recognized by the Chair and took the occasion to present to the Congress the following resolution adopted by the City of Philadelphia:

WHEREAS on the 15th day of December, 1918, the first American Jewish Congress will convene in the city of Philadelphia, and

WHEREAS the said American Jewish Congress will be composed of democratically elected delegates from every State, representing every class of the Jewish people of America, and

WHEREAS the said American Jewish Congress will meet in this city primarily for the purpose of defining methods whereby full rights may be secured for the Jews in all lands, and all laws discriminating against them be abrogated, and to bring about the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine in accordance with the official declaration of the British Government, which has received the unqualified endorsement of President Wilson, as well as of France, Italy, etc., now therefore be it

RESOLVED by the Select and Common Council of the City of Philadelphia that a hearty welcome be and is hereby extended to the said American Jewish Congress, coupled with the wish that its deliberations may produce the desired result, and be it further

RESOLVED that His Honor, the Mayor, be and he is hereby requested to take official recognizance of the approaching event.

Colonel Cutler moved that this resolution be made a part of the records of the Congress and that appropriate response be made to the Executive of the City of Philadelphia by the President of the Congress and other officers whom he may select. The motion was carried unanimously and it was so ordered.

The report of the Committee on Committees was then called for. That Committee recommended that the following standing Committees be appointed: Committees on Palestine, Roumania, Poland, Galicia, Russia, Lithuania and Ukrainia, New Slavic Lands, General Resolutions, Nominations, Ways and Means. The recommendation of the Committee on Committees was unanimously adopted.

At 4 P. M. the session was declared adjourned.

FIFTH SESSION

LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 17, 1918—10 A. M.

The session was opened with Colonel Cutler in the Chair.

Rabbi Henry Cohen offered prayer.

Additional telegrams and messages of greeting from the following persons and organizations were read by the Secretary:

Hebrew Mutual Loan Association, Tulsa, Okla.; Zionist Organization, New York; Zionist Organization, Worcester, Mass.; First Umaner Benevolent Association, New York; Jewish Students University of Michigan; Branch 75, Workmen's Circle, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Agudath Zionist Maccabee, New York; Poale-Zion Branch 1, Cincinnati; Zionist Organization, Yonkers, N. Y.; Branch 634, I. O. B. A., Brooklyn; Abe Charkow, Bayonne; Jewish Organization, Evansville, Ind.; Congregation B'nai Moshe, Evansville, Ind.

The Chair ordered that all messages of greeting be officially acknowledged:

The Chair was informed that the Committee on Roumania was ready to present its report. Mr. Solomon Sufrin, Chairman of the Committee, then introduced the resolution on Roumania. The resolution, as presented, contained the following preamble:

"WHEREAS the Jews in Roumania have contributed in many ways, and equally with the other inhabitants of the country, to the economic, industrial and cultural life of the country."

A motion to adopt the resolution was introduced and prolonged debate followed.

Mr. Joel Enteen:

"I believe that the preamble to the resolution on Roumania should be stricken out. It has become the fashion that when rights for the Jews are demanded, we recite the accomplishments of the Jews and claim rights on the basis of these accomplishments. I believe that Jews are entitled to equal rights as people and as members of a clearly defined nationality and not because of the things they have

done. We have certainly done many things for Roumania in political and other ways but we should not present this as a reason for the rights we demand. If the Jews in Roumania had accomplished nothing, they would still be entitled to national rights. We should not make our demands in such a way as will mean that here the Jews have accomplished much and therefore are entitled to many rights and there the Jews have accomplished little and are therefore entitled to no rights. This is the first historic document of its kind and our demand for rights must be made on the ground that it is a self-evident thing. I move, therefore, that the preamble to the resolution which recites the accomplishments of the Jews in Roumania, be stricken out."

Mr. Hershfield:

"I take exception to only one word in the report of the Committee on Roumania—the word "national." We are now to understand that this Congress will ask that special group rights be given to the Jews of Roumania. That I object to. I trust the word "national" will be stricken out. Let Roumania be constituted as it will, we shall ask that the constitution of Roumania give to the Jews the same civil, political, religious and economic rights as they give to their inhabitants and citizens of other faiths. Why should the Jews of Roumania or of any other land demand any special privileges for themselves as Jews?"

Dr. Silverman:

"The word 'national' is very important. I look at this from the standpoint of an American and a Jew, and from the standpoint of any member of any other nationality. We Jews have no right to ask of any other country rights different or superior to those of any other people. This is one of the most important principles. Are we to be an integral part of the citizens of any land, or are we to consider ourselves separate and different from the citizens of any land? In this country, we are an integral part of the American people just as much as any other group is a part of the American people. The Constitution of the United States does not recognize minorities, it recognizes only American people, without regard to their race, creed or previous nationality. When they come to the United States they become, by virtue of being inhabitants of this land, Americans."

Mr. Rothenberg:

"I rise to a point of order. We are not discussing the rights of the people here in America, but the rights of the people in Roumania. Any one who has given thought to the subject knows that there are countries in which Jews cannot enjoy equal political and civil rights unless they have group rights."

The Chair:

"The point of order is not well taken."

Dr. Silverman:

"If we can succeed in getting rights in any other country identical with the rights we have in America, we need do no better. That is the reason I made this illustration. We should take the broadest possible view of the question and go to the Peace Conference to ask rights for ourselves not as Jews and as a separate people of any nation, but as inhabitants of the land. Ex-President William Howard Taft, in an article entitled 'The League of Nations and Justice to the Jew' said: 'Could we find a stronger argument for the continuance of our League of Nations than this ignominious failure of that Congress in 1879 under the Presidency of Bismarck to carry out its declared purpose? If there be any people who should be earnestly in favor of a League of Nations as the outgrowth and the condition of this Treaty now being framed at Versailles, the Jews are that people.'"

Mr. de Haas:

"The question that comes up in the Congress is new only insofar that the question is of national minority or group rights in relation to Roumania. Besides being a Zionist I take an interest in the welfare of the Jews in every country where, unfortunately, discriminations against them exist. Mr. Marshall said on Sunday evening that we were tricked once in Roumania and we shall not be tricked again. According to the new map of Roumania as established in the Bucharest Treaty, there is a new Roumanian minority, namely, the Bessarabian, and we are confronted with the problem of the Bessarabian Jews who went into the Bucharest Treaty as free citizens of Bessarabia but came out of it as nothing at all. We must deal, as far as it is humanly possible, with the actual needs of the people of the whole land.

Mr. Hershfield moved an amendment to the resolution to the effect that national rights for the Jews in Roumania be granted if similar rights are granted to other groups and nationalities. Dr. Silverman seconded the amendment. Mr. de Haas suggested that the amendment be changed to read "Such national or other rights as are claimed by the Jewish population." Mr. Hershfield did not accept the suggestion.

On motion of Judge David, duly adopted, speeches on the question before the House were limited to not more than five minutes for each speaker.

Mr. Barondess:

"The only terms upon which Roumania will grant equal rights to the Jews are that the Jews become assimilated. The Jews in

Roumania have not the power to make demands for themselves. If the securing of rights for the Jews in Roumania means that they become assimilated, it is better that rights be not granted to them."

Mr. Kahn :

"No one asks for national rights in the United States because such rights are not necessary here. But in a country composed of various populations that have lived there for centuries, and have developed a culture and a literature that are not in common with other populations, the Jews ought to demand national rights and are entitled to them."

Mr. Kramer :

"The Jews in Galicia have equal rights, and in spite of that, hundreds of Jewish students have been thrown out of the universities there. All rights which we demand are national rights."

Mr. Zuckerman :

"With the exception of the question of Palestine, the Congress has now reached the most important point of its proceedings. The Jewish question in Eastern Europe can be solved only by national rights. It may be that we will find a substitute phrase which will satisfy everyone. If we do not find such a phrase, then we must satisfy the majority here. There must be no compromise. National rights!"

Mr. Charles Cowen :

"There can be no question that Roumania recognizes the Jews as a separate nationality. The Roumanian Government in order to oppress the Jews, has called them foreigners or aliens. The Jews are a separate nationality and should be recognized equally with other nationalities, and in a spiritual sense that nationality must be preserved. This is my stand, if it is a choice between surrendering our Jewish spiritual nationality and the acceptance of civil and other rights, and if our spiritual rights and our spiritual Jewish nationality is to be lost, I would rather go forth again with the wanderer's staff and await the miracle of the coming of the Messiah, but surrender—never."

Dr. Friedlander :

"I have been somewhat amazed by this discussion. I had thought that during the past two years of discussions concerning the Congress, we were all pretty clear in the demand for national rights. I suppose explanation lies in the fact that some of us rely upon what our American papers tell us and not what comes to us from our own

brethren in Europe. The demand for national rights is not a Zionist demand. The appeal comes to us from our brethren in Europe and it is so clear that we have learned by experience of a generation what equal rights means. We want not alone equal rights but national rights."

The Chair announced that the resolution under discussion had been redrawn, so that it contain the views of both sides of the House and that it would be presented to the Congress. Mr. Kahn, on a point of order, stated that this created a new resolution and that a previous motion had been made and seconded to strike out the word "nationality." The Chair, however, rules that the redrawn resolution would be read to the Congress, which was done. The Chair then stated that he would put the question of the elimination of the word "national" before the House. Mr. Hershfield thereupon withdrew his amendment and the question of the adoption of the resolution as redrawn was put to the House and unanimously adopted. The text of the resolution as adopted is as follows:

#### RESOLUTION ON ROUMANIA

Whereas, the Jews in Roumania constitute an important part of all the social strata of its population:

Whereas, the Jews of Roumania are deprived of political, civil, religious and national rights, although their duties in the support of the country, including compulsory military service, are the same as those of the other inhabitants:

Whereas, Jews in Roumania are subjected to exceptional laws and considered and treated as aliens, although they have been living there since many centuries:

Whereas, Roumania has violated its solemn pledge to the Powers in 1878 to emancipate its Jews:

Whereas, the new alien naturalization law enacted pursuant to the Treaty of Bucharest, does not solve the Jewish question in Roumania and will exclude from its operation about 75 per cent of the Jews by reason of the unjust technical requirements of the said law:

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the American Jewish Congress demand through the United States representatives of the Peace Conference that it surround the future of the Jews of Roumania with such protective measures and adequate guarantees that their rights be hereafter made as secure as possible:

That the Executive Agency selected by this Congress is instructed to use its best efforts and give its full support to the Jews of Roumania, in order that they may obtain full rights as demanded by them.

That all direct and implied anti-Jewish restrictions in Roumania be removed:

That the Jews in Roumania be granted the fullest political, civil, religious and national rights:

And that the laws of naturalization be in the theory and in fact the same for the Jews as for the other inhabitants of Roumania.

The following resolution was then presented:

WHEREAS the Jews in Roumania have participated equally with the rest of the population in the heavy sacrifices which they were called upon to make by their government in connection with the world war,

BE IT RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress request that the American and European agencies dealing with relief and reconstructive work in Europe shall also deal with the relief and reconstructive work for the Jews of Roumania,

AND THAT THIS WORK CONSIST

FIRSTLY, of immediate relief of the necessities of the moment in the occupied and uninvaded parts of the country as well as in the acquired territories, and

SECONDLY, of reconstruction of a permanent economic and social nature to be accomplished by the founding of various institutions which shall enable all the needy persons, widows, orphans and invalids to earn their own livings through the creation of industrial schools; the distribution of tools and loans to artisans and workingmen; the foundation of co-operative loan societies and such other economic institutions as may be deemed advisable.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we propose that adequate measures be taken that the Jews of Roumania and the acquired territories shall be indemnified in the same manner and to the same extent as the other inhabitants of the country, for damages resulting from the war, and that the Roumanian Government assist them otherwise in the same manner and to the same extent as its other inhabitants.

The resolution was adopted without debate.

Upon motion the session was declared adjourned.

## SIXTH SESSION

## LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 17, 1918—4 P. M.

Judge Mack, presiding, opened the meeting, and read the following editorial from the *New York Evening Telegram*, dated December 10th, 1918:

"THE JEW IN WAR. That the Jew has personal courage is well-known to all possessing any knowledge of the prize ring. It has been shown from the days of Mendoza down past Barney Aaron and Joe Choyinsky to the time of Battling Levinsky and Leach Cross. Now an interesting sidelight on the Jew in war is furnished by Martin Conboy, Director of the Draft in New York City, who says: 'There was the Lost Legion which won undying fame in the Argonne. It was a Yiddish Battalion composed of pushcart peddlers, sewing machine operators, buttonhole makers and the like. They were the fellows who inspired Whittlesey when called upon by the Germans to surrender to reply "Go to Hell".' And speaking of the East Side, Mr. Conboy further directs our attention to Sing Kee, a Chinese drafted from Board No. 94, in Baxter Street, who has been awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for valor. There is glory enough for all our adopted citizens."

A motion to spread the foregoing editorial upon the records of the Congress was unanimously adopted.

Messages of greeting were read by the Secretary from the following:

Congregation Adath Israel, Evansville, Ind.; Zionist Organization, New Brunswick, N. J.; Branch 127, Jewish National Worker's Alliance, Tulsa, Okla.; B'nai Zion Camp 20, Perth Amboy, N. J.; Tifereth Zion Lodge, Ansonia, Conn.; Jewish Community, Ansonia, Conn.; Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, New York; Ladies Charitable and Free Loan Society, Brooklyn; Lechem Aniemi Aid Society, Brooklyn; Talmud Torah, Tifereth Zion, B'nai Zion Mizrahi, Brooklyn; Typesetters, The Day, New York; Dr. Charles C. Lax, New York; United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Local No. 6, Philadelphia; Bialik Camp 101, Cambridge, Mass.; National Social Ten, Paterson, N. J.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

The Committee on Resolutions then announced that it was ready to report. Mr. Schulman, the Chairman of the Committee, presented the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress shall elect a delegation of not more than seven members, which shall leave as soon as possible for Europe, where in co-operation with representatives of the Jews of other lands, it shall use its best endeavors to realize the objects for which this Congress was established, in accordance with instructions formulated by this Congress;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the delegation shall render a report to the Congress after its labors in Europe are completed and the President of the Congress is hereby required to summon the Congress to receive the report of the delegation not later than one year after the Treaty of Peace shall have been signed, and to present such other business as may come before it;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that in the event the delegation requires further instructions or new conditions arise, the delegation by a majority vote may direct the President of the Congress to summon a special session of the Congress to act on such propositions.

An amendment was offered from the floor providing that the delegation consist of nine members. Duly seconded, it was put before the House and defeated. The original resolution was then adopted without further debate.

The following resolution was then presented:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress of American Jews call upon the Peace Commissioners representing the American Republic at the Peace Conference in Versailles, France, to use their high and kindly offices to the end that no nation or country be granted its separate autonomy, independence or freedom unless it be on the distinct condition and understanding that equal, national, civil, political and religious rights be guaranteed each and every person individually and collectively within the confines of such given nation.

At the suggestion of Judge Mack, action on this resolution was deferred pending a consideration of a change in its phraseology.

The Committee then presented the following resolution:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress expresses its deep appreciation to His Honor, the Mayor of the City of Philadelphia and to the City Council for its official recognition of the convening of the first American Jewish Congress and for sending a representative to greet this Congress.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be spread on the records of this Congress and a copy thereof forwarded to His Honor, the Mayor.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was presented to the Congress:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress extends its appreciation and thanks to the Jewish Community of Philadelphia for the hospitality accorded the delegates to this Congress and particularly expresses its appreciation to the Committee on Arrangements for its splendid efforts in making this Congress a success.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution was presented:

RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress shall, as soon as peace is declared among the warring nations, instruct its European delegation to take necessary and effective steps in co-operation with representative Jewish bodies in other countries for the convening of a world Jewish Congress.

An amendment was offered changing the word "universal" to read "international." Mr. Lipsky and Mr. Schomer spoke in opposition to the amendment, which was not seconded.

Dr. Heller requested that this resolution be reconsidered and further debate followed. Dr. Heller then withdrew his request and the resolution was adopted.

Dr. Friedenwald presented the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress instruct its delegation in Europe to co-operate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations and specifically with the world Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of November 2nd, 1917, endorsed by the Allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain acting on behalf of such League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine and the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The Chair read the following communication:

Hon. Julian W. Mack, President American Jewish Congress:

The Philadelphia Committee of the Armenian National Union of America, speaking for the whole of Armenia, extends sympathetic greetings to the American Jewish Congress assembled at Philadelphia

and joins with the Congress in the hope of a restored Jewish State on the soil of their fathers in Palestine.

It was moved and adopted that this communication be spread upon the records of the Congress.

The following resolution was then presented:

BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress of American Jews requests the Peace Commissioners representing the United States of America at the Peace Conference, to use their high and kindly offices to the end that it shall be made a condition precedent to the grant of autonomy, independence or freedom to any nation or land, that all the inhabitants thereof shall have equal civil, political, religious and national rights without distinction of race or faith and that such rights shall be guaranteed to them and their descendents in perpetuity.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Upon motion the session was declared adjourned.

## SEVENTH SESSION

## LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 17, 1918—9 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Judge Mack.

Upon motion of Mr. Joseph Rabinowitz, the Congress stood in silence as a tribute to the memory of Dr. Theodore Herzl, President of the First International Zionist Congress, that first put into active force the aims and aspirations of the Jewish people.

Messages of greeting from the following persons and organizations were presented by the Secretary:

Columbus Home Lodge, Columbus, Ohio; American National Union; Lithuanian National Council; Ukrainian National Committee; Ukrainian Monthly; Ukrainian Community, Frankford, Pa.; Leon Kobrin, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Russian Organization, New York; Dr. Max Girsdausky, New York; Konnvonation Confederation Poale-Zion, Stockholm; Jewish Theological Seminary.

The following resolution was then introduced:

BE IT RESOLVED that the thanks and appreciation of the American Jewish Congress be and hereby is extended to Messrs. Bernard G. Richards, Secretary, and Jacob Carlinger, Honorary Financial Secretary, for their tireless efforts and splendid services which they have rendered in connection with the preliminary work in the organizing and convening of the American Jewish Congress.

The resolution was adopted.

It was moved by Dr. Friedenwald that the thanks of the Congress be extended to Professor Isaac A. Hourwich for the excellent and devoted services rendered by him, as Chairman of the General Board of Elections. Mr. Richards in seconding the nomination told of the arduous work Professor Hourwich had given in organizing the elections held throughout the country. The motion was thereupon unanimously adopted.

The Chair invited speakers from among the delegates and guests to address the Congress.

Rev. Masliansky, in the course of his address, said:

"The Congress at first was shaky. It rocked to and fro. It was like a weak infant. But the Jewish spirit and the Jewish tradition of hundreds of years asserted itself. It is fitting that this Congress is held in Philadelphia, where American freedom was born. America has helped to brush the dust of our exile from us. America is our sanatorium."

Mr. Winchevsky said in part:

"Several years ago I wrote an article and I said that the Jews were entitled to their language, their religion and their country. In the Socialist circles it was looked upon as a bit of treachery. Since that time there is no Socialist opposition to the idea. A year ago the Socialist Internationale adopted a resolution warmly endorsing Palestine as a homeland for the Jews. At about the same time the Jewish National Socialist Bureau adopted a similar resolution. I began to preach Socialism when I was 17 years old. I am now sixty and I hope to die a Socialist. It may be that I will die a Socialist in Palestine."

Jehoash spoke as follows:

"Five years ago when I went to Palestine, Mr. Winchevsky told me that he hoped to see me again in New York. Today he hoped to be himself in Palestine. Rev. Masliansky said that America is our sanatorium, but Palestine will cure us altogether."

Sholom Ash said in part:

"Before this war, I was in Palestine, and I saw the hills which beckon to our people. Now that Palestine is to belong to us, we must be united. There must be room in Palestine for the conservative and for the radical. Palestine must be the mother of us all."

David Pinski spoke next. He said:

"We children of the Jewish exile have suffered because we had no land. We doubted the eternity of our people and our doubt bound us with heavy chains. Now we know our future. We have won our nation and our country. Now we get new strength and we know that the Jewish nation will accomplish much. The great demonstration that witnesses the adoption of the Palestine resolution gives us spirit for the future."

Mr. Rueben Brainin and Mr. Dolitzky spoke in Hebrew. They were followed by Rabbi Gold, who said:

"We are a great nation. After a two-thousand year exile we gather in this hall with a clear consciousness that we are a great and living nation. Only give to the Jews the right to return to their Mother Zion and they will show the world that they are again the holy and mighty people."

Abraham Raisin said in part:

"I am not a delegate to this Congress and I did not expect to address you, But I feel the greatness of this moment. True, I do not know English well, and there are a few things I have not understood. But I suppose your work had to be carried on in English. It is like conditions in that village where there were two doctors. One spoke Yiddish well, the other Russian. The one who spoke Yiddish could talk a good deal but his medicines were not good. The other doctor spoke little, but his medicines worked. And the people, of course, patronized the doctor whose medicine was good. So let us use the strange speech as long as it works and as long as our hearts are Jewish."

Rev. Abramowitz said in part:

"During the entire period of our long exile, others have tried to divide us. They have tried to make some of us Russian, some French, and so on. But the Jewish spirit defeated these attempts. We paid with much blood, suffering and tears, but we remained a united people. All of us must remember that our work is not completed. We must carry the message to our communities and bring our work to a successful conclusion."

Dr. Shainkin made a brief address in Hebrew, followed by Mr. Jacob Adler, who said in part:

"I have been one of these whose work it has been to beat on my drum and wake the Jews to a sense of their power. Always I have tried to awaken the feelings of my brethren. How many tears flowed when I played Bar Kochbar, Jerusalem, Zion. True, we wore paper crowns, but now we will need no paper crowns. And if we have to present our plays in Hebrew, then I will immediately begin to learn. I know that time is short. I am glad that I have been able to say a few words to you. I hope, with God's help, to meet you all in Palestine."

Max Pine then addressed the Congress. He said in part:

"This is the most beautiful moment in our lives. This Congress would not be a representative Congress if it were made up of all workers, or of all Zionists, or of all rich men. The Congress has at one end the richest of millionaires, and at the other end the poorest of workingmen. I hope, therefore, that now we will be a united people. I hope that the Congress will end as harmoniously as it began."

Rabbi Ashinsky said in part:

"This Congress has shown that we stand on our old platform; that we must lead the world to Justice, equality and liberty. President Wilson gave a moral foundation to the World War when he spoke of making the world safe for democracy. Now we supply

the other half of the program. Democracy must be made safe for the world. Poland says that she is a democratic nation, but we have here adopted a resolution asking that those countries which oppress smaller and weaker nationalities be not admitted to the benefits of democracy. I hope that the next Jewish Congress will meet in Palestine where human freedom was born. Then we will see the greatness of the Jew."

Rabbi Max Heller was then presented. He spoke as follows:

"My Friends, and particularly you, my future neighbors in Palestine:

When I was a boy I distinctly remember how my father, though a Levite, appreciated being called to the Law as "Acharon," the last, which was considered a special honor. Most of you are familiar with the old Hebrew saying "Acharon, Acharon Choviv," the last, the last is preferred. It is an honor, indeed, to speak the closing word after the splendid array of shining lights of Hebrew and Yiddish literature to whom we have had the pleasure of listening. It is natural for me to feel myself, among such men, the Koton Shel Habayie, the youngest of the household; and this is, indeed, a "Layl Shimurim," the eve of an Exodus, only with this difference that we feel like saying: "Bachodesh habbo biyerusholayim," the coming month will see us in Jerusalem. You will not wonder that, as the smallest among you, I should feel moved to ask the time-honored question: "Mah Nishtanoh," what is the real novelty about all this? only in a new form.

I have asked myself, again and again, while I was swept along with the rapid currents of this great gathering: Mah Nishtanoh Hoassifoh hazzos mikkol Hoassifoss? wherein was this wonderful Congress radically different from almost every other assembly one has ever attended?

You will not misunderstand me when I start out by finding that the most striking difference consisted in our chaotic, sometimes turbulent, never entirely conquered disorder. I am proud of that disorder, strange to say; I came to like it after a time; for it was the disorder neither of inattention nor of indifference; it was the irrepressible excitement of boundless enthusiasm.

That disorder was complicated by another Mah Nishtanoh, by another almost unique peculiarity: by what might be called the confusion of languages, Yiddish, and Hebrew alternating with the vernacular. There were friends of mine who rebelled against this, who wanted it stopped; but my answer to them is: why don't you learn your brother's heart-speech: the marvellous vehicle of the prophets, on the one hand, and the flexible, expressive idiom of the Golus? These are two windows into the Jewish soul without which you remain forever a stranger to the Jewish genius, to the Jewish life.

I have two more Mah Nishtonoh's, for there must be four, of course, —which are more flattering to our pride: we honor our writers and thinkers, as scarcely another people does: for we are the "People of the Book;" we love our poets so warmly that some of us wished to make the most lovable of them, our Jehoash, permanent president of the Congress; the deep thought, the noble sentiment, they are the very breath of our life.

And lastly, there is this glorious distinction, a distinction in both senses; that we know, in this Congress, how to rise into unanimity out of the hottest clashes of strife. We start out with fears, rumors, suspicions of every kind, faction arming against faction; we end in the jubilant shout of perfect harmony, of the unanimous vote.

The love that rises out of anger is the love that lasts; the unity which is achieved out of free and frank discussion is the unity that binds. May our Congress be the first of many gatherings that shall bring unto Israel, as did and shall our actions of this great assembly, the blessings of Achduss Vesholom, of the peace that is rooted in perfect harmony!"

The following resolution was introduced:

RESOLVED that before the Congress adjourns in this city, the delegates pay their respects to the Liberty Bell at Independence Hall by visiting it in a body, and that a Committee of Five be appointed to make suitable arrangements for the purpose of carrying out this resolution.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and the following were appointed on the Committee of Five: Jacob Ginsburg, Louis E. Levy, Dr. Louis S. Rubinsohn, Adolf Kraus and Joseph L. Kun. The Chair informed the Congress that they were to assemble at 11 A. M. December 18th for the purpose of visiting Independence Hall.

The meeting was thereupon declared adjourned.

## INDEPENDENCE HALL

DECEMBER 18, 1918

At 11:30 A. M. the delegates were called to order at Lu Lu Temple by Colonel Cutler, who presided. The Congress then proceeded in a body to Independence Hall, where the Chairman, Mr. Jacob Ginsburg, called the assembly to order. In a brief address he explained the significance of the occasion and introduced Joseph L. Kun, who addressed the delegates as follows:

“Ladies and Gentlemen and Delegates to the Congress:

The Jews of this country are holding what is undoubtedly the most momentous session in the history of our people, since upon this the history of America itself is concerned. The first and foremost thought that I want to emphasize to our fellow citizens of this great municipality and this great State and indeed of this great nation is that this is not a Congress of Jews of America, but it is an American Jewish Congress. We are as intensely American as we can possibly be intensely Jewish. We could not meet in a more hallowed, a more sacred place than on this very floor where on July 4th, 1776, the brave men who came to this country in those days, like many of your and our fathers have come in later days, came here to escape oppression and persecution. When William Penn set his foot on these shores only a few blocks down the street, and made this Pennsylvania, and made this Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, he planted the seed for what was to follow, namely, a great nation.

And indeed, you will observe that there is inscribed on the Liberty Bell, that sacred relic of Revolutionary days, a passage from our Old Testament, from Leviticus, proclaiming liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof. Since that day, nations have made great strides, and we have paraphrased that thought into this that we are aiming to establish; it is not only a question of proclaiming liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof, but of proclaiming liberty throughout the world to all the nations thereof.

With these few words I want to present to you one of our very distinguished townsmen, who comes here to represent the two millions of people in this great City of Brotherly Love—a man who is honored and revered by us all—the official representative of the great City of Philadelphia, Dr. Edward J. Cattell, City Statistician.”

Dr. Cattell then made the following address :

“Presiding Officer, Ladies, Gentlemen and Members of this wonderful meeting :

I have for fifty years clear memories of this dear room which is the shrine of liberty. Within this room that wonderful declaration was signed which for the first time affirmed the thought that the Government derives its right from the consent of the Governed. Fifty years ago I stood at that corner of the room and looked for the last time on the face of Abraham Lincoln as they carried him to his last resting place,—the man whom I have known in life the great emancipator.

I have been here on many occasions to speak to the young men and women from every city of the globe and men representing sacred movements, but never in my life have I felt so deep an impression with the solemnity of the hour and the feeling of the entire world, as I do at this moment when I address you men and women who are making history greater than has ever before been written.

I remember that my old mother said to me, “My boy, there will never be peace in the world until the wrongs done to the Jews are righted.” I have carried that thought with me in all my work and writings and in all my speeches and I say here without the slightest reservation that all the conferences abroad, all the work of scholars and scientists and of statesmen will come to naught if something is not done to consider the rights of the Jews in Europe. There will never be happiness until that wrong is righted and until there is justice done to this race from whom we have received the greatest of all literary works,—the ten commandments. All the law of the world that is really making the true equitable relations between man and man, can be traced back to these ten commandments.

I speak here today as representing the one hundred and eighth Chief Magistrate of this old city which had its existence in the century before the Declaration was signed,—which had its place among the cities of the world before this became a Republic. We are a people possessed of the real love for happiness. Therefore, I bring you this welcome of the Mayor, —speaking not as myself alone, but as he who represents the Chief Magistrate of this old mother city. And I come to you with this thought, that as you have been the great law-givers of the world; as your race possesses the finest men; as the word “Jerusalem” is music to the ears of thousands and millions of people everywhere,—that out of this welter of pain and tears there should come now out of Jerusalem the Holy, a great body of advisers who should plan and decide on producing codes of laws and methods between the various peoples. And going out of that great center of memories to open the heart and mind coincident, there should be given to the world expert testimony of a great unity. And the suffering which your people have borne through the ages should now bring forth messages of people who have suffered, telling how and why they suffered. They will come out of that suffering and live and become the center of the whole wide world.

May God bless your deliberations. May the spirit of the great emancipator, Lincoln, who gave his life that four million people's shackles be removed from their limbs,—may his spirit be with you; may the spirit of all the great fathers who have enriched life by what they did and said be with you; and may you take from this room,—the most sacred we have in America,—the spirit of sacrifice which animated the fathers,—and may the God of your fathers be with you and bring out of your deliberations a blessing to the whole world."

Colonel Cutler then addressed the assembly:

"Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cattell, Delegates and Friends:

Fortuitous circumstances make me the mouthpiece to respond to the sentiments which you, sir, have expressed this morning. I wish that the men who are the leaders in mind and heart in this organization were present to effectually and adequately give expression to the feelings of our colleagues, and not this humble instrument who finds himself entirely deficient in language and phraseology with which to express the moment that is now before us. However, like a soldier, I must do my duty, and I will do so to the best of my ability.

So to you, sir, I say, standing here on this hallowed spot, that we American Jews who have assembled to consider momentous questions which must be of benefit to the human family, have come here feeling as though we were going to the holy resting place of our great fore-fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We have come, sir, in a spirit of holiness to pay our tribute to the great emancipators who declared religious liberty here. The events which have fixed this historic spot permanently in our minds remind us that just as there is a mission for individuals to perform, so is there a mission for nations to perform. This is our adopted country. This nation has been called to perform a mission, the fruition of which we see today.

In 1776 the American people took up the implements of warfare to conserve a democracy for three millions of people, and a little later we again took up arms in the War of 1812 to conserve a democracy of ten millions of people. We then wrote a scrap of paper, the Treaty of Ghent, whereby great nations could live side by side in comity. And a little later, I refer to that scene which it was your privilege to witness, we said, "There shall not be one nation half slave and half free," and we again took up the implements of warfare to conserve of democracy of thirty millions of people.

We may well pass over the little chapter recently when we came to the rescue of a race, not of our color, and liberated them from the butcheries of the dominant autocracy. Now in this wonderful mission that our country has been destined to perform, we have again taken up arms, not for aggrandizement of land or property, not for the conservation of democracy of ten millions, of thirty millions, not even for the conservation of a democracy of one hundred millions of Americans, but for the conservation

and perpetuation of a democracy for hundreds of millions the world over. And to that mission these citizens have lent themselves. Realizing their duty as patriotic men and women, they have made their sacrifices in the various directions in which they could serve. We recall very clearly when our sons went abroad. We recall when this Republic accomplished what appeared to be a phenomenon. In one night there were transplanted one million men from civil into military life, a large majority coming from monarchies where compulsory service was not only a persecution, but quite often a degradation. And yet, sir, coming to this harbored refuge where they never expected to bear arms, they answered the call without question because of the principles of right and justice that actuated the motives of our country.

So they went forth into the battlefields. They sowed the seed of American ideals in the countries across the sea. They sowed the ideas of Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, and the fathers of this great Republic with their blood and with their lives. And we saw them depart—those of us who are of sterner stuff,—watching the parting of the boy and his father when the father said with a tremor of his lips and a tear-dimmed eye, “Good-bye, my son, God bring you back.” And we saw that boy, when he realized the mission that he was to perform, with his shoulders straight and his chin firm, say, “Good-bye, father.” But did you witness the parting with the mothers? Did you see the mothers in our land—the mothers who have fought this war—the mothers who have fought all wars in the history of the world—when they parted with their sons? Their parting began when our President, Woodrow Wilson, declared in Congress that we would become a belligerent nation. Their parting was accentuated when the boy received the card at home from his Local Board. The parting was emphasized when the mother packed the kit of her son. With every article that the mother placed into the kit went a fragment of the mother’s heart, and when the kit was completed, the mother wrapped that kit with her soul when she said, “God bless you, my son, and bring you back to me.”

In the silent watches of the night she communed with her Lord. She seemed to fold little arms around her neck, and press the little body to her breast. She saw that child as he tramped to school, and watched him grow to manhood, and then she placed him on the altar of sacrifice, because she heard the cry of the mothers of Belgium, the cry of the mothers of Galicia, she heard the cries of the mothers of Palestine, and she said, “Good-bye, my son, God bring you back to me.”

These events meant no profit to those people and to the American nation, and we, in this time of reconstruction, ask for naught else except that conflict between nations shall cease forever, and that the rights of the small nations be as sacred as those of the great powers. That is the spirit that animates our pilgrimage here, and in this reconstructive period, in the conservation of democracies, we do not ask for special privileges. We citizens of Jewish faith of this beloved land only request, aye, demand equal rights with all free-born men and women the world over.

So we are grateful for the opportunity, sir, of being the guests of this great municipality, and of standing at this hallowed place. All this feeble spokesman can say is that your prayer finds an echo and response in the hearts and minds of these men and women who seek nothing for themselves and everything for humanity."

Mr. Nathan Straus was asked to address the assembly and said:

"There are times in a man's life when saying nothing means much. Draw on your imagination and think of what I would say if I could put my thoughts into words."

The exercises were closed with the singing of "America," "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Hatikvah."

## EIGHTH SESSION

LU LU TEMPLE

DECEMBER 18, 1918—3 P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Judge Mack, the Chairman.

Telegrams of greeting from the following were presented by the Secretary:

Hebrew Classes, John Marshall High School, Chicago; J. Erberfield, Columbia, S. C.; Capmakers Union Local No. 1, New York; Zionist Youth Club, Rochester; Workingmen's Circle, Branch 52, New York; Labor League, Branch 24, Marlborough, Mass.; Jewish Community, Portsmouth, Va.; Poale-Zion Youth Club, Brooklyn; Jewish Soldiers and Sailors, Newport News; Mutual Aid Society, Detroit, Mich.; Jewish National Worker's Alliance, Branch 98, Washington, D. C.

The Chair read the following cablegram received from Professor Masaryk, President of the Czecho-Slav Republic:

Your cable relative to deportations in Bohemia have reached me. Have immediately placed myself in communication with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have given strict instructions to put an end to same.

The following telegram from Father J. J. Curran of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., was also read to the Congress:

It makes my heart feel proud to witness the unanimity and harmony of the American Jewish Congress now in session. May illuminating and gratifying success attend your noble works and crown your racial aspirations in the dawn of a new Zionism and a modern Jewry.

The Committee on Poland, through Mr. Marshall, Chairman, then reported. Mr. Marshall said:

"I have been called upon to report on behalf of the Committee on Poland. We have to report for a new league of nations which has been formed by the four committees which were designated to deal with the subjects of Poland, Russia, Ukrainia, Finland, Lithuania, Galicia and the New Slavic States. It was found that the questions

which were to be considered by these several Committees, in the aggregate of 52 members, were of such a character that the best results could be obtained if a consolidated report were rendered. We therefore proceeded on that theory. The Committees began their work on Monday evening; worked all through yesterday until late in the morning of today and again this morning. I think they must have been in session for over thirty hours. I believe that the unanimous action of the four Committees ought to indicate that there was a unanimity of sentiment and a desire to harmonize all possible differences in order to forego unnecessary discussion."

Before proceeding with the report, Mr. Marshall read the following answer to be telegraphed to the Ukrainian Congress in Washington:

The American Jewish Congress gratefully acknowledges the message of sympathy of the Ukrainian Congress with the sufferings of the Jews of Galicia and Poland and it expresses the profound hope and belief that the deliberations of the Peace Conference will result in the inauguration of a new world order on the basis of democracy and the self-determination of peoples.

It was moved that the telegram be dispatched and that a similar telegram be sent to other communications of the kind addressed to the Congress. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Marshall then read to the Congress a reply which had been drafted to be sent to the National Polish Department in answer to their communication:

National Polish Department and Polish National Defense Committee.  
Gentlemen:

Your letter of the 14th instant, addressed to the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist Organization of America, has been presented for action to the American Jewish Congress now in session and has received careful consideration. The numerous cablegrams and reports which have come to us from Sweden, England and Holland and other countries describing serious pogroms and massacres in Poland and Galicia directed against the Jews are so circumstantial and emanate from sources of such high standing and responsibility, that we cannot doubt the trustworthiness of the information. Moreover the conceded, nay, the historical fact that during the past six years a boycott of unparalleled rancor and bitterness, and of such huge proportions as to precipitate an entire people into the depths of misery has been unceasingly waged against the Jews of Poland, affords moral proof of the probability that the charges are true. We regret that in your published statements you saw fit to indulge in passionate, intemperate and unwarranted aspersions upon the Jews of America for believing what it is impossible for them to disbelieve and for giving expression to the horror and indignation which overwhelmed them on hearing of the added burden of sorrow and suffering

which had been inflicted upon their brethren. To have done otherwise would have made us justly contemptible.

Impressed, however, by your assurance that as the representative of four and a half million Poles, who in common with us are citizens of the United States, the land which we both love and to which we both yield joyful allegiance, you declare that they do not admit the truth of the reports, that they believe that the industrial boycott is no longer in force, that they are unalterably opposed to pogroms and boycotts under any circumstances whatsoever, that they support the principle that the Jews in Poland are entitled to the same rights and protection as any other part of the people of Poland, and that they stand for a Government founded upon the same principles of religious, political and industrial freedom as are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, we accept your proposal for the organization of a Commission to investigate the actual conditions in Poland affecting the Jews and to make a public report of their findings.

Accordingly this Congress will provide for the two Jewish members of the Commission, and will appoint a Committee that is to arrange with you all details, including an agreement upon the names of the two representative Americans who are neither Jews nor Poles, who are to serve on the Commission.

Very truly yours.

Judge Fisher moved that this letter be dispatched to the representatives of the two Polish organizations and that Judge Mack and Mr. Marshall be appointed a Committee of Two to designate the two Jewish representatives on the Commission and to arrange the details as well as to join with the Polish Commission in naming the two Americans who are neither Jews nor Poles.

Some debate followed.

Mr. Savitzky:

"I amend the motion that we accept the challenge of the Poles only on two conditions. First, that the Commission shall be accorded the fullest opportunity to investigate conditions previous to the pogroms and also that the Commission shall have initiative power to investigate conditions that may not be shown to them."

Mr. Rothenberg:

"I have no doubt that the Commission will make every possible effort to see that the inquiry is made under such conditions that will make possible a very fair and impartial investigation of the facts. I am afraid that the motion in the form in which it is put may mean

to appoint the Commission without any alternative and I desire to add to the motion "that the Commission be appointed provided the President of the Congress and the Chairman of the Committee on Poland shall deem the conditions under which the inquiry is made is to make possible a fair investigation."

Mr. Rothenberg's amendment was seconded and Mr. Cowen amended further that Judge Mack and Mr. Marshall be a Committee of Two authorized but not instructed to send the letter, and that the position taken in the letter be in essence and principle the sense of the Congress.

Mr. Rothenberg then withdrew his amendment, and the motion that the letter be approved as representing the sense of the Congress was unanimously adopted.

Judge Fisher then submitted his revised motion that Judge Mack and Mr. Marshall be appointed a Committee of Two with authority to deal with the Polish representatives in the matter of sending an investigation Committee to Europe, this Committee to have the authority of naming the Jewish representatives on the Committee as well as suggesting or agreeing with the Polish representatives as to who the two non-Jewish and non-Polish American representatives should be and to arrange all details and determine all the conditions for the sending of the investigating Committee.

An amendment that there be added three additional members of the Committee to be appointed by the Chair, was defeated. The original motion was thereupon unanimously adopted.

Mr. Marshall then presented the following resolution, known as the Jewish Bill of Rights:

#### THE BILL OF RIGHTS

RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress respectfully requests the Peace Conference to insert in the Treaty of Peace as conditions precedent to the creation of the new or enlarged States which it is proposed to call into being, that express provision be made a part of the Constitutions of such States before they shall be finally recognized as States by the signatories of the Treaty as follows:

1. All inhabitants of the Territory of....., including such persons together with their families, who subsequent to August 1st, 1914, fled, removed or were expelled therefrom and who shall within ten years from the adoption of this provision return thereto, shall for all purposes be citizens thereof, provided, however, that such as have heretofore been subjects of other States, who desire to retain their allegiance to such states or assume allegiance to their successor states, to the exclusion of.....citizenship may do so by formal declaration to be made within a specified period.

2. For a period of ten years from the adoption of this provision, no law shall be enacted restricting any former inhabitant of a State which included the territory of.....from taking up his

residence in.....and thereby acquiring citizenship therein.

3. All citizens of.....without distinction as to race, nationality or creed shall enjoy equal civil, political, religious and national rights, and no laws shall be enacted or enforced which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of, or impose upon any persons any discrimination, disability or restriction whatsoever on account of race, nationality, or religion, or deny to any person the equal protection of the laws.

4. The principle of minority representation shall be provided for by the law.

5. The members of the various national, as well as religious bodies of ..... shall be accorded autonomous management of their own communal institutions whether they be religious, educational, charitable or otherwise.

6. No law shall be enacted restricting the use of any language, and all existing laws declaring such prohibition are repealed, nor shall any language test be established.

7. Those who observe any other than the first day of the week as their Sabbath shall not be prohibited from pursuing their secular affairs on any day other than that which they observe; nor shall they be required to perform any acts on their Sabbath or Holy Days which they shall regard as a desecration thereof.

Mr. Marshall said, "At the request of the fifty-two members of these four Committees, I move the adoption of this resolution." The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The following resolution, adopted at the last session, was again submitted to the Congress:

BE IT RESOLVED that the Congress of American Jews requests the Peace Commissioners representing the United States of America at the Peace Conference to use their high and kindly office to the end that it shall be made a condition precedent to the grant of autonomy, independence or freedom to any nation or land, that all the inhabitants thereof shall have equal civil, political, religious and national rights without distinction of race or faith, and that such rights shall be guaranteed to them and their descendants in perpetuity.

It was decided that the provisions of this resolution are contained in the Bill of Rights and it was thereupon withdrawn.

Following short debate a motion was introduced providing that, insofar as possible, whatever State or Country may evolve out of the present conditions in Russia, be deemed to come within the scope of the resolution on Roumania and the Bill of Rights. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Cowen moved that the resolutions heretofore adopted be regarded as instructions to the European Commission. The motion was adopted.

A motion by Judge David to the effect that 5,000 copies of the report of the proceedings of the Congress be printed and distributed to the delegates led to an amendment by Prof. Fineman that the matter of printing the proceedings of the Congress and distributing them be referred to the Officers of the Congress with power to act. Prof. Fineman's motion was unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Nominations, through Mr. Lipsky, then reported in regard to the Commission to Europe. Mr. Lipsky stated that in order to secure equitable representation to all parties represented in the Congress, it was necessary to increase the number of members of the Commission from seven to nine. Mr. Lipsky therefore moved that the number be so increased and that wherever "seven" appears in the appropriate resolution, it be stricken out and "nine" inserted. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Lipsky then presented the following nominations for the Commission to Europe: Julian W. Mack, Stephen S. Wise, Louis Marshall, Harry Cutler, Jacob de Haas, B. L. Levinthal, Joseph Barondess, Nahum Syrkin, Leopold Benedict (Morris Winchevsky), and Bernard G. Richards, Secretary of the Commission.

Mr. Lipsky stated that Mr. Adolf Kraus had been offered a place on the Commission but had declined to serve because of ill health. Mr. Cowen then moved that the report of the Committee on Nominations be adopted. Put to the house, the report was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Pfeffer was recognized.

Mr. Pfeffer:

"I move that the first American Jewish Congress, convened in Philadelphia, declare itself in principle that the Congress should remain a permanent tribunal which will hold American Jewry united."

The Chair:

"I declare the motion out of order. Immediate action can be taken by the gentlemen who constitute this Congress, or those of them who want to form a permanent Congress, but this Congress as a Congress is bound by the agreement."

Mr. Pfeffer:

"Can the President suggest any way by which that agreement can be repealed?"

The Chair:

"Other organizations or bodies can get together and form another constitution. When this Congress is again convened and hears the report of its Commission to Europe, it will be adjourned. Those present and having participated will have no trouble, in my judgment, in taking the proper action. But this Congress is bound by the agreement."

Mr. Pfeffer:

"You have misunderstood my motion."

The Chair:

"The Chair does not intend in this or in any other action that he takes to be arbitrary. This body has the power to overrule the Chair on a point of order by appealing from the decision of the Chair. That is the only way in which the Chair can be overruled. I have ruled Mr. Pfeffer's motion out of order. If you desire, or anybody else desires to appeal from the decision of the Chair you may do so."

Mr. Pfeffer:

"I do not desire that. I desire to explain that you have misunderstood or misinterpreted my motion. I have not suggested that this Congress decide on a permanent Congress."

The Chair:

"I rule you out of order."

Mr. Shulman (on a point of order):

"No discussion at this time pertaining to the permanency of the Congress is in order."

The Chair:

"Point of order well taken."

Mr. Zuckerman:

"I appeal from the decision of the Chair in ruling Mr. Pfeffer out of order."

Judge Fisher:

"I move that action on this appeal be deferred until the reconvening of the Congress. There may be many of us who disagree with the Chair at this time, or who think that they will have no rights to act as a self-constituted body."

Mr. Enteen:

"(On a point of information.) Who will conduct the business of the Congress during the absence abroad of those members of the Commission to Europe who are Executive Officers of the Congress?"

The Chair:

"During the absence of those members of the Commission to Europe who are also Executive Officers of the Congress, the executive business of the Congress will be conducted by the Executive Officers who remain here."

Following the discussion, Mr. Zuckerman withdrew his appeal.

Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes was recognized by the Chair and spoke of the need for educating the public and cultivating public opinion for the purpose of achieving the objects of the Congress.

On behalf of the Congress, Colonel Cutler extended greetings to Messrs. Peter Bercovitch, H. Wollofsky and Joseph Cohen, representing the Montreal Jewish Congress Committee; Louis Bagrad, Hyman Schmerler and Jacob L. Cohen, representing the Congress Union of Western Canadian Jews, all of whom were present at the Congress sessions in their official capacity of fraternal delegates to the Congress.

The Committee on Resolutions then presented the following resolution:

In view of the satisfactory manner in which the Joint Distribution Committee and the several Relief Committees co-operating with it have performed their several functions, it is not deemed desirable at this time to enter upon their several fields of activity, but it is respectfully suggested that the Joint Distribution Committee as well as the Zionist Organization of America investigate the questions of the economic and communal reconstruction of the Jews of Eastern Europe and of Palestine, and they are requested to report the results of their investigation at the next session of the Congress.

The motion was adopted.

The following resolution was presented:

"WHEREAS, the purpose, idea and ideal of this Congress, is to represent and act in behalf of all the Jews of this country, and to merge all the national activities of the American Jews for and in behalf of all its constituent organizations, and

WHEREAS, two organizations which are affiliated with and represented in this Congress, "American Union of Roumanian Jews," and the "Federation of Roumanian Jews of America," purpose and are arranging to send abroad respective commissions for the pur-

pose of doing independent work in obtaining civil, political and national rights for the Roumanian Jews, and reconstructing conditions brought about by the war, and,

WHEREAS, such independent work will result only in misunderstanding and confusion, and obstruct the efforts of this Congress to secure political, civil and national rights for all the Jews in lands needing such improvements, including Roumania,

THEREFORE, be it resolved, that this Congress call upon the "American Union of Roumanian Jews," and upon the "Federation of Roumanian Jews of America," to refrain from sending any such commission or commissions abroad, and to do their work in that respect, on behalf of the Roumanian Jews only through the executive agencies of this Congress.

Mr. Wolfson on a point of order objected to the resolution on the ground that the Congress had no authority to interfere with the autonomous government of an individual national organization. The Chair ruled that the resolution was not presented as an order to the organizations concerned, but merely as a suggestion. A motion was thereupon made to table the resolution, which being put to a vote, was defeated. The vote: In favor—104. Opposed—107.

Judge Fisher moved that the resolution be re-committed to the Committee on Resolutions. This motion was defeated. The original resolution was then placed before the House and adopted.

The Committee on Ways and Means was asked to render its report. Colonel Cutler, for the Committee, suggested that the Congress empower its officers to continue to adopt such ways and means as may be necessary for the raising of the required funds. Put as a motion, the suggestion was unanimously adopted.

The Chair invited Mr. Kun to address the Congress. Mr. Kun, on behalf of the Jewish Community of Philadelphia, spoke of the happy coincidence that had resulted in the convening of the Congress in Philadelphia where American independence had been born, and told of the inspiring scenes that were witnessed when the delegates visited Independence Hall. He ended his address by wishing the Commission to Europe God speed on their historic journey.

The Chair then addressed the Congress:

Ladies and Gentlemen: Your session is drawing to a close and will be reconvened after the delegation that you have directed to go to Europe on behalf of the Jews of the world shall have returned so as to render a report to you of their findings. That delegation, I am sure, will go with your earnest hope that they be successful in carrying out your wishes. If they shall fall short, I know it will

be through no fault of theirs. We are asking for our brethren what we believe to be their just and human due. First, that the Jewish people as such, be re-established in their national home in Palestine; under the protection of that great and liberal power that has led in the redemption of the Holy Land from the hands of the Turk, and then for the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe those rights that have been so clearly set forth and so eloquently expressed in the resolution that voiced the final and unanimous opinion of every member of the four committees and then of this entire body. Our sessions have been interesting beyond measure. They could not have been typically Jewish if from the outset we had all agreed on everything. Absolute unanimity would have betokened a condition of death and not of life. Life is a protest and a struggle. We have had our differences; we have fought them out. We have reached unanimous conclusions on every vital issue. American Jewry stands united. Now, fellow Jews and fellow Americans, all citizens of this glorious Republic, than which no country in the world has given a greater measure of justice to the Jew, as to all people, now as fellow American citizens, we shall rise and sing our National anthem "America."

"America" and "Hatikvah" were then sung by the delegates and visitors.

The Chair extended the thanks of the Congress to the Press representatives for their faithful report of the Congress proceedings, and for the excellence of their work.

The final benediction was said by Rabbi Rubenstein.

At 6 P. M. the session was declared adjourned.

## REPRESENTATIVES TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

## ALABAMA

Dr. B. C. Ehrenreich  
A. Leo Oberdorfer

## MOBILE

Leo M. Brown

## ARKANSAS

Dan Daniels

## ARIZ. (UTAH &amp; NEVADA)

Gov. S. Bamberger

## CALIFORNIA

Otto Irving Wise

## LOS ANGELES

Dr. I. W. Adelman  
Dr. Leo Blass

## SAN FRANCISCO

I. W. Hellman  
Rabbi Jacob Neito

## COLORADO &amp; NEW MEXICO

C. E. Hillel Kauvar  
A. D. Radinsky

## CONNECTICUT

Charles H. Shapiro

## BRIDGEPORT

Frank S. Cohen

## HARTFORD

Herman P. Koppelman

## NEW BRITAIN

M. D. Saxe

## NEW HAVEN

Charles Cohen  
Louis Sachs

## NEW LONDON &amp; NORWICH

Herman Aloffson, 2nd

## STAMFORD

Hyman Neustad

## WATERBURY

Solomon A. Wellington

## DELAWARE

William Topkis

## WASHINGTON (D. C.)

Judge Milton Strassburger  
Morris Freilicoff

## FLORIDA

Neal Finkelstein

## GEORGIA

Isaac Silver

## ATLANTA

Samuel M. Castleton  
Hyman Solomon

## ILLINOIS

William B. Woolner

## CHICAGO

Judge Hugo Pam  
Max Shulman  
Judge Harry M. Fisher  
Leon Zolotkoff  
Adolf Kraus  
Rabbi Saul Silber  
Mrs. Benjamin Davis  
Rabbi Ephraim Epstein  
Nathan D. Kaplan  
Dr. I. Marcus  
Rabbi A. B. Goldenson  
B. J. Shapiro  
Dr. George K. Rosenzweig  
Julius Savitsky  
Morris Silbert  
Dr. George Sultan  
Rabbi Abraham I. Cardon  
Judge Joseph B. David  
Jacob Miller  
Paul Rissman  
A. S. Roe  
Nathan Rosenfield  
Jacob Cohen

- INDIANA  
N. D. Lieberman
- INDIANAPOLIS  
Rabbi Morris M. Feuerlicht
- IOWA  
Charles Silberman
- SIoux CITY  
Max Brodkey
- KENTUCKY  
Moses W. Ades
- LOUISIANA  
Sidney L. Herold
- NEW ORLEANS  
Rabbi Max Heller
- MAINE  
Dr. Elias Caplan
- PORTLAND  
Samuel Rosenberg
- MARYLAND  
Max Rubin
- BALTIMORE  
Dr. Henry Friedenwald  
Israel B. Brodie  
Mrs. Emil Crockin  
Dr. Herman Seidel  
Dr. S. Schaffer
- MASSACHUSETTS  
J. Karavayiff
- BOSTON  
Felix Frankfurter  
Louis E. Kirstein  
H. H. Levenson  
Nathan A. Pinanski  
Max Mitchell  
Julius Meyer  
A. Hurwitz  
Mrs. S. Goldman  
Peter M. Leavitt  
D. Stern  
Benj. Rabalsky
- BROCKTON  
Harry Schechter
- CHELSEA  
David A. Lourie
- FALL RIVER  
David R. Radowsky
- LAWRENCE & HAVERHILL  
Max M. Friedman
- LOWELL  
David Ziskind
- LYNN  
Josiah J. Lippitt
- MALDEN  
Rabbi B. Boruchoff
- NEW BEDFORD  
Samuel Barnet
- SALEM  
Max Goldberg
- SPRINGFIELD  
Rabbi Solomon Pessin
- WORCESTER  
Rev. Myer Freed
- MICHIGAN  
Gus A. Wolf
- DETROIT  
Rabbi A. M. Hershman  
David Goldman  
Bernard Ginsburg  
David W. Simons  
H. Rosumovsky
- MINNESOTA  
Maurice Lefkowitz
- MINNEAPOLIS  
Dr. George Gordon  
Rabbi C. D. Matt
- St. PAUL  
Gustavus Loevinger
- MISSOURI & KANSAS  
Rose Saferstein  
Henry Wallenstein
- KANSAS CITY, Mo., & KANSAS CITY,  
KANS.  
Meyer Goldberg
- St. LOUIS, Mo., & E. St. LOUIS, ILL.  
Rabbi B. A. Abramovitz  
Morris Shapiro  
Dr. A. S. Wolff  
Dr. Michael Golland
- LINCOLN  
Rabbi Jacob Singer
- OMAHA  
Henry Monsky
- NEW HAMPSHIRE  
Isidore A. Brodie
- MANCHESTER  
Edward M. Chase
- NEW JERSEY  
Michael Jellin

ATLANTIC CITY  
Dr. Joseph Roschovsky

BAYONNE  
Hyman Lazarus

CAMDEN  
Abe Fuhrman

ELIZABETH  
Henry A. Piper

HOBOKEN  
Sol Lubash

JERSEY CITY  
Rabbi S. G. Posner

NEWARK  
Sarah Kussy  
Philip J. Shotland  
Jacob Polevski  
Elizabeth Blume

PASSAIC  
Joseph Kraemer  
Dr. David Shapiro

PATERSON  
Abram Klenert

PERTH AMBOY & CARTERET  
Isaac Alpern

TRENTON  
Joseph Spector

VINELAND  
Dr. N. S. Greenwood

WOODBINE  
Joseph Rabinowitz

NEW YORK  
Ed Burger

ALBANY, COHOES & TROY  
Rabbi H. H. Lasker

BINGHAMTON  
Harry Rubin

BUFFALO, NIAGARA FALLS &  
TONAWANDA, N. Y.  
Rabbi Nachman H. Ebin  
Rabbi Max Drob

ROCHESTER  
Rabbi Solomon Sadowsky  
Solomon Carson

SCHENECTADY & GLOVERSVILLE  
Rabbi Joseph Jasin

SYRACUSE  
T. Aaron Levey  
Dr. Adolph Coblens

UTICA  
Samuel L. Sumberg

YONKERS  
Max Cohen

ELMIRA  
Benjamin F. Levy

NORTH CAROLINA  
Ethel Greenberg

SOUTH DAKOTA  
Alexander Stern

OHIO  
D. I. Simon

AKRON  
Paul Danzig

CINCINNATI  
Prof. Gotthard Deutsch  
Capt. Nathan Isaacs  
Abraham Friedman  
Louis Krit

CLEVELAND  
Jenny K. Zwick  
Jos. Chertoff  
A. Garber  
A. Kolinsky  
Isaac Milcoff

COLUMBUS  
Max Topper

DAYTON  
Maximilian K. Margolis

TOLEDO  
L. M. Epstein

YOUNGSTOWN  
Rabbi I. M. Davidson

OKLAHOMA  
Dr. Joseph Blatt

OREGON  
Ben Selling

PENNSYLVANIA  
I. Kahanowitz

ERIE  
Rabbi Max C. Currick

HARRISBURG  
Robert Rosenberg

McKEESPORT, BRADDOCK & DUQUESNE  
Henry Friedman

## PHILADELPHIA

Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf  
 Rev. B. L. Levinthal  
 M. Katz  
 Judge Henry M. Wessel  
 Dr. Benj. L. Gordon  
 Prof. David Werner Amram  
 Dr. Louis S. Rubinsohn  
 Joseph Gross  
 Jacob Ginsburg  
 Prof. H. Fineman  
 Louis Edward Levy  
 Mrs. H. Lowenburg  
 Martin O. Levy  
 Adolph Rosenblum  
 Charles Lipschutz  
 M. K. Benami  
 Rabbi Marvin Nathan  
 William B. Leaf  
 Max L. Margolis

## PITTSBURGH

Allan Davis  
 Edgar J. Kaufman  
 Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky  
 Morris Neaman

## READING

Harry Zable

## SCRANTON

Isidore Finkelstein

## WILKES BARRE

Abram Salsburg

## RHODE ISLAND

Col. Harry Cutler

## PROVIDENCE

Rabbi Israel S. Rubinstein  
 Louis Shatkin  
 Abraham Boyman

## SOUTH CAROLINA

S. Rittenberg

## MEMPHIS (TENN.)

Charles J. Hasse

## CHATTANOOGA (TENN.)

M. H. Silverman

## NASHVILLE

Samuel Levy

## TEXAS

Rev. Henry Cohen

## DALLAS

Rabbi J. Bosniak

## FORT WORTH

Louis F. Shanblum

## HOUSTON

Philip Blumenthal

## SAN ANTONIO

Dr. S. Burg

## VIRGINIA

Rabbi Moritz Speier

## NORFOLK

Jacob Saks

## RICHMOND

Dr. L. Karp

## WISCONSIN

Prof. Horace M. Kallen

## MILWAUKEE

Chas. Friend  
 Nathan Sand  
 E. Lisitsky

## WASHINGTON

Adolf Feuchtwanger

## SEATTLE &amp; TACOMA

Adolph Rosenthal  
 Emanuel Rosenberg

## DISTRICT 1, NEW YORK CITY

Rev. H. Masliansky  
 David Pinsky  
 Mrs. Samuel Mason  
 Dr. J. I. Bluestone  
 Dr. N. Syrkin  
 B. Zuckerman  
 Albert Kruger  
 Abraham S. Schomer  
 Samuel Markewich  
 William Edlin  
 J. Redelheim  
 Rabbi Aaron Teitelbaum  
 Max Rubin  
 Joel Slonim  
 B. Koenigsberg

## DISTRICT 2, NEW YORK CITY

Meyer L. Brown  
 Mrs. Charles A. Spivacke  
 B. Last  
 A. Wohliner  
 Charles A. Apfel  
 Jacob Pfeffer  
 D. Ehrlich  
 R. Perlmutter  
 Solomon Sufrin  
 Samuel Margoshes  
 Rabbi J. J. Estersohn  
 Bernard Semel  
 Morris Kramer  
 A. D. Katcher  
 I. Kopeloff  
 Solomon Neuman

## DISTRICT 3, NEW YORK CITY

Nathan Straus, Esq.  
 Morris Margulies  
 Louis Marshall, Esq.  
 Dr. Leo Manheimer  
 Hon. Henry Morgenthau  
 Rev. Dr. Joseph Silverman  
 Mrs. Joseph Fels  
 H. Slutsky  
 Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes

## DISTRICT 4, NEW YORK CITY

Joel Enteen  
 Rabbi M. A. Kaplan  
 Ephraim Ish-Kishor  
 Dr. Philip Klein  
 Samuel Siegel  
 S. Boncheck  
 H. Ehrenreich  
 Bernard A. Rosenblatt  
 Samuel Levinson  
 Rose Schomer

## DISTRICT 5, NEW YORK CITY

Emanuel Hertz  
 Miss Henrietta Szold  
 J. Kohn  
 Dr. Hirsch W. Honor  
 Miss Sadie American

## DISTRICT 6, NEW YORK CITY

Louis Lipsky  
 Morris Rothenberg  
 Solomon Bloomgarten (Yehoash)  
 Dr. Hyman J. Epstein  
 Rabbi Abraham Gallant  
 Z. Cutler  
 Dr. Hillel Solotaroff  
 Dr. Stella Schaffer-Epstein  
 Herman Hertzberg  
 I. Wolf  
 Dr. Simon Hirsdansky  
 Harry J. Kahn  
 Mrs. Hillel Solotaroff  
 Philip Wattenberg  
 Henry L. Slobodin

## DISTRICT 7, NEW YORK CITY

Hon. Joseph Barondess  
 Gedalia Bublick  
 Mrs. Charles Zunser  
 Isaac Allen  
 Dr. Israel H. Levinthal  
 Morris Robinson  
 Reuben Finkelstein  
 Mrs. Ida Levine  
 Morris Weinberg  
 Morris Binkowitz  
 Jacob Dunn  
 Victor Schwartz  
 Abraham Levy  
 David Goldberg  
 Abraham Kaplan

## DISTRICT 8, NEW YORK CITY

Judge Jacob S. Strahl  
 Prof. Isaac A. Hourwich  
 Rabbi Wolf Gold  
 Ephraim Kaplan  
 Emanuel Neuman  
 Henry Eiser  
 Dr. Rose Schuloff  
 S. E. Posin  
 David Werbelowsky  
 Rabbi Elihu Inselbuch  
 Joshua Goldman  
 Rabbi Max Raisin  
 Moe Werbelowsky  
 Benjamin Flotle  
 Abraham Gootblatt

## DELEGATES AT LARGE

Bernard G. Richards  
 Jacob Carlinger

## AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Judge Mayer Sulzberger  
 Oscar S. Straus  
 Abram I. Elkus  
 Jacob H. Schiff  
 A. Leo Weil  
 Ephraim Lederer  
 Julius Rosenwald

## INDEPENDENT ORDER B'NAI B'RITH

Rabbi Edward R. Calisch  
 Jacob Singer  
 Lucius L. Solomons  
 Philip Stein  
 Charles Hartman  
 Archibald A. Marks  
 A. B. Seelenfreund

## INDEPENDENT ORDER B'RITH ABRAHAM

Hon. Leon Sanders  
 Sol. Schelinsky  
 Hon. Aaron J. Levy  
 Max L. Hollander  
 Max Stern  
 Max Eckman  
 Max Silverstein

PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR  
GENERAL ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Charles A. Cowen  
 Eugene Meyer, Jr.  
 Jacob de Haas  
 Judge Julian W. Mack  
 Joshua Spreyregen  
 A. H. Fromenson

AGUDATH HARABONIM (ASSOCIATION OF  
ORTHODOX RABBIS)

Rabbi L. Silver  
 Rabbi I. Rosenberg  
 Rabbi D. Ginsberg  
 Rabbi M. S. Margolies

INDEPENDENT ORDER B'RITH SHOLOM  
S. Berkowitz  
M. Haber  
S. C. Kraus  
C. J. Weiss  
Joseph L. Kun

FEDERATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS  
Dr. Dora Askowith  
Maurice L. Avner  
Julius I. Peyser

ORDER SONS OF ZION  
Samuel Rothenberg  
Dr. Maurice S. Dunn  
Bernard Shelvin

ORDER B'RITH ABRAHAM  
Hon. Henry M. Goldfogel  
Samuel Kanrich  
Samuel Dorf

MIZRACHI  
Leon Kamaiky  
Rabbi J. Levinson  
Solomon Rosenbloom

INDEPENDENT WESTERN STAR ORDER  
Max Levy  
Isaac Shapiro

INDEPENDENT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE OF  
AMERICA  
Solomon Press  
Samuel Egdall

PROGRESSIVE ORDER OF THE WEST  
ST. LOUIS, MO.  
Abraham Levy  
Harry Wolf

ORDER KNIGHTS OF JOSEPH  
Dr. D. B. Steuer  
I. Liederman

UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA  
Dr. Israel Friedlander

JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY POALE  
ZION OF AMERICA  
Dr. S. Ellsberg  
I. Hamlin

JEWISH SOCIALIST TERRITORIALIST LABOR  
PARTY OF AMERICA  
A. Glantz

UNITED HEBREW TRADES  
Max Pine  
Max Zuckerman  
Michael Abramson  
Reuben Guskin  
Benjamin Witashnik

FACULTY OF THE RABBINICAL COLLEGE OF  
AMERICA  
Rev. Dr. B. Revel

INDEPENDENT ORDER FREE SONS OF  
ISRAEL  
Solon J. Liebeskind

UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONS  
Isidore Hershfield

HADASSAH  
Miss Eva Leon

INDEPENDENT ORDER B'RITH SHOLOM OF  
BALTIMORE  
Benjamin S. Applestein

AMERICAN UNION OF ROUMANIAN JEWS  
Leo Wolfson

FEDERATED ZIONIST SOCIETY OF THE  
WEST  
B. Hourwich

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ISRAEL  
Robert Silverman

EASTERN COUNCIL OF REFORMED RABBIS  
Rev. Dr. M. H. Harris

FEDERATION OF NATIONAL RADICAL  
SCHOOLS  
S. Schapiro

JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE  
OF AMERICA  
S. Goldstein  
J. Chaggy  
Dr. Ben Zion Liber

NATIONAL SOCIALIST COMMITTEE  
Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky  
I. M. Budish  
David Abraham

HISTADRUTH IVRITH  
Abraham Goldberg

NATIONAL WORKMEN'S COMMITTEE  
Dr. B. Hoffman  
Alexander Kahn

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE  
J. Weinberg

JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION  
Leopold Benedict

FEDERATION OF JEWISH FARMERS OF  
AMERICA  
Ely Greenblatt